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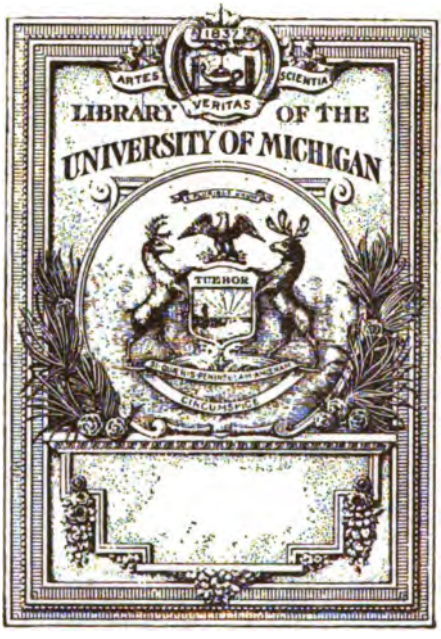

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TWO ESSAYS

ON

THE GEOGRAPHY

OF

ANCIENT ASIA.

1857.

TWO ESSAYS

ON

THE GEOGRAPHY

OF

ANCIENT ASIA;

INTENDED PARTLY

TO ILLUSTRATE THE CAMPAIGNS OF ALEXANDER, AND

THE ANABASIS OF XENOPHON.

BY THE REV. JOHN WILLIAMS,

VICAR OF LAMPETER, AND RECTOR OF THE EDINBURGH ACADEMY.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

MDCCCXXIX.

Gentheer
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INSCRIBED TO THE MEMORY

OF

XENOPHON THE ATHENIAN,

AND

ALEXANDER THE MACEDONIAN,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

429383

PREFACE.

THE first essay in the following publication was partly read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh; the second was written in consequence of the discoveries made in comparing the former.

I have no hopes that I am right in every respect. I am, however, convinced, that chance and careful inquiry have enabled me to throw some light on the Geography of the campaigns of Xenophon and Alexander.

It depends much upon the reception which this Work may experience, whether I venture on the publication of a much larger work on the Geography of Ancient Asia.

I beseech the learned reader to remember, that this Book was principally written during the few intervals of leisure that could be enjoyed by the head master of a large public school. There have been times when I have deeply regretted the want of sufficient leisure to prosecute these and similar studies; but I have always been consoled by witnessing the manner in which most men, who are masters of their own time, mispend and abuse it.

I have no obligations to acknowledge, nor thanks to return: the merit or demerit of the work is entirely my own. And if I reap no other reward, I can at least boast that I have derived the most intense gratification from the prosecution of the inquiry.

Edinburgh, October, 1829.

ERRATA.

Page 19, line 19, *Kerah* instead of *Kerat.*
— 25, — 20, for *for* read *from.*
— 64, — 13, for *or* read *and.*
— 65, — 20, for *Marcellus* read *Marcellinus.*
— 75, — 15, for *east* read *oase*
— 106, — 2, after *harbour* insert a comma.
— 131, — 24, for 75° read 73°.
— 160, — 6, for *at* read *al.*
— 189, — 15, for *should* read *would.*
— 304, — 9, for *Taurus* read *Tauris.*

A

MEMOIR

ON THE

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

OF

ECBATANA, &c.

If a Roman station in the wilds of Caledonia be an object of interest; if the discovery of the site of a Greek or Egyptian town, scarcely noticed in history, be welcomed as conferring a benefit on antiquarian science,—I may be pardoned for calling the attention of the Society to the consideration of the geographical position of a city, which, for a long succession of years, ranked among the capitals of the known world. And although I am aware that European feeling is peculiarly callous on Asiatic subjects, and that not only the comparative, but even the positive geography of the immense and important regions of central Asia is a neglected study, I yet entertain a faint hope that circumstances may combine to render the proposed inquiry into the situation of the ancient Ecbatana as interesting as a description of the latest discovery of an ice-bound island within the arctic circle,

or of a desert-environed tribe in the centre of Africa. For the course of events rapidly tends to make the geographical positions of Modern Persia an object of deep interest to every patriotic Briton, and our eastern empire may prove the cause of realizing the wish of Horace in a manner at once surprising and curious; for the *bellum lacrymosum*, which he prayed might be scattered to the opposite limits of the Roman world, may yet, by the northern ruler of the arctic regions, be directed in geographical succession, "*in Persas atque Britannos.*" And although he now claims the frozen Niphates as his natural boundary, and is master of the lesser streams that serve to swell the majestic current of the Median river, the Scythian neither unstrings his bow nor thinks of quitting the field.

According to Herodotus, Ecbatana was built near the close of the eighth century, B. C. by Dejoces, the founder, or (as other authors say) the restorer of the Median monarchy. The father of history furnishes us with no hint whence we may infer its relative position on the map of Media. His description of the fortress is particular. "The Medes, in obedience to their king's command, built those spacious and massy fortifications now called Ecbatana, circle within circle, according to the following plan. Each inner circle overtops its outer neighbour by the height of the battlements alone. This was effected partly by the nature of the ground, a conical hill, partly by the building itself. The number of the circles was seven; within the innermost were built the palace and the treasury. The circumference of

the outermost wall and of the city Athens may be regarded as nearly equal. The battlements of the first circle are white,—of the second, black,—of the third, scarlet,—of the fourth, azure,—of the fifth orange. All these are brilliantly coloured with different paints. But the battlements of the sixth circle are gilt with silver, of the seventh with gold. Dejoces constructed these walls around his palace for his own personal safety. But he ordered the mass of the Median nation to construct their houses in a circle round the outward wall."*

But the orientals, according to Diodorus Siculus, claimed a far more ancient origin for Ecbatana. They not only described it as the capital of the first Median monarchy, founded by Arbaces, but as existing prior to the era of the famed and fabulous Semiramis. That victorious and wonder-working queen, in the course of her royal progresses, " arrived at Ecbatana, a city situated in a plain, and there built a magnificent palace. She also honoured the place with more elaborate proofs of her patronage. For as the city was badly supplied with water, and there was no spring in the neighbourhood, with immense labour and expense she introduced abundance of excellent water, and furnished the whole city with copious streams. At the distance of twelve stadia from Ecbatana there is the mountain Orontes, of extraordinary ruggedness and height. The perpendicular ascent to the summit is twenty-five stadia.

* Herodotus, b. i. c. 98-99.

As there was on the opposite side of this hill a large lake, which discharged its waters into a river, Semiramis perforated the root of this mountain, and formed a tunnel fifteen feet broad and forty feet high. Through this she conveyed the lake-stream, and supplied the city with water."*

Such was Ecbatana under the Assyrian and Median dynasties; nor did it suffer any diminution of dignity under Persian ascendancy. It continued to be a royal residence of the great Cyrus and his successors. "Cyrus spent seven months of the colder season at Babylon, because the climate is warm; the three spring months at Susa; the two hottest months of the year at Ecbatana. By thus acting, he always lived in vernal warmth and coolness."†

The Macedonian conquest did not prove destructive to Ecbatana, and the avenging hand that consigned to the flames the Persepolitan palace of the destroyer of Athens, spared the splendid fortress of the Median Dejoces. In it Alexander deposited the treasures taken from Persepolis and Pasargada, and one of the last acts of his life was a royal visit to Ecbatana. Although not equally favoured by the Seleucidæ, it still maintained the traces of its former grandeur; and Polybius has left on record the following description of its state under Antiochus, surnamed the Great:—

"It was originally the capital of Media, and seems greatly to have surpassed the other cities, both

* Diodorus Siculus, p. 72. † Xen. Cyropæd. b. viii. c. 6.

in wealth and the magnificence of its buildings. It is situated among the low hills at the foot of Mount Orontes, and is not itself fortified. But it possesses an artificial citadel, admirably constructed for security. Close to it is the royal palace. But it is difficult to decide whether the entire omission or a particular description of this building be the wisest course. For, as Ecbatana furnishes the finest subject for writers who love to publish marvellous descriptions, and are wont to exaggerate and embellish particular circumstances, so also its very magnificence confounds and disturbs the writer who is prudently afraid to utter any thing not likely to be believed by the majority of mankind. But to proceed. The palace is nearly seven stadia in circumference, and, by the magnificence of its various edifices and ornaments, proves the great prosperity of its original founders. For although all the timber was either cypress or cedar, not a bit of wood-work was allowed to be visible. The beams, the ceilings, the columns, both of the porticoes and piazzas, were coated, partly with silver, partly with golden plates, and all the tiles were of silver. The greatest part had been stripped at the first invasion of Alexander and his Macedonians, and the rest during the supremacy of Antigonus, and Seleucus, the son of Nicanor. Yet, after all, when Antiochus visited Ecbatana, the temple dedicated to the goddess Anæa had its pillars still coated with gold, and many silver tiles were deposited in it. There were also remaining a few gold and many silver bricks. These were all brought to the

royal mint, and the sum coined amounted to near four thousand talents."*

Soon after this last spoliation, the degenerate descendants of Seleucus the Victorious were driven from Upper Asia by the Arsacidæ, and Ecbatana once more, as we are informed by Strabo, became the favourite summer-residence of the reigning dynasty. And we have the authority of Tacitus, to show that at the close of the first century it still continued to be the Parthian capital. There is also a curious passage in Josephus, which may be quoted as evidence of the extraordinary favour with which Ecbatana had always been treated by its successive conquerors :—

" Daniel built in the Median Ecbatana an ark (Baris) on a most magnificent scale, and exquisitely finished. And it is preserved to the present day. The spectators think it newly erected, and ask if it was not finished on the day they see it. So fresh does it appear, and so completely does it preserve its original beauty, and betray no marks of age, after so long a lapse of time.† Median, Persian, and Parthian kings are to this day buried in this ark. The person to whose charge it was originally given was a Jewish priest; and the same regulation is preserved to the present time. The structure is worthy of its founder,

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* Polyb. b. x. frag. iv.

† The extraordinary freshness which even the chisel-marks still present, on the excavated rocks of Persepolis, has been remarked by many modern travellers, and proves how well calculated the climate is for the preservation of such monuments.

and sure to excite the admiration of any one who may be induced by this account to visit it."*

When the Persians, under the house of Sassan, A. D. 226, recovered the dominion of Upper Asia, not only a natural feeling of reverence for the ancient seat of empire, and for the tombs of their ancestors, but also stern necessity, must have led them to cherish their Median capital as a favourite residence. For during the long and bloody contest between Rome and Persia, the Euphrates and Tigris repeatedly proved too feeble barriers on their western frontier, and Seleuceia and Ctesiphon were more than once desolated by the Roman legions. Yet the natural bulwarks of Mount Zagros were never forced, nor did the matrons of Ecbatana ever witness the smoke of a Roman camp. Consequently, we find from Ammianus Marcellinus, that, near the close of the fourth century, Ecbatana continued to be a great and fortified city.

Having thus historically ascertained its existence as a mighty and flourishing city during the space of near twelve centuries, it may well be asked if there can be any doubt of its relative situation in comparative geography? Surely some remains of former magnificence, some traditionary lore among the neighbouring tribes must still serve to identify the spot, and guide the researches of the antiquarian. Nineveh perished at a period prior to the authentic records of profane history, yet its ruins still exist.

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* Jew. Antiq. book x. cap. 11. sect. 7.

The Mesopotamian tribes have for eighty generations drawn their building-materials from the scattered fragments of Babylon, nor have the Euphrates and its inundations been idle in the work of decomposition, yet its brick-quarries remain unexhausted. The massy antiquities and gigantic excavations of Persepolis still impress the traveller with mingled awe and admiration; and even Susa, in its desolation, shows ample proofs of its former vast extent. Yet the destruction of these is attested in ancient history. But Ecbatana, which alone of her sister-capitals escaped unscathed into the darkness of the middle ages, has alone continued unidentified in modern times. And for this it is difficult to account. For Ecbatana cannot be compared to those cities which, elevated into temporary splendour by the favour of one monarch, have been consigned to insignificance by the neglect of his successors; nor to those cities which, like Tyre and Alexandreia, depending upon commerce as the source of their prosperity, have fallen into decay when the streams of commerce have been diverted into other channels. For its vicinity, although provided neither with maritime nor inland navigation, furnished, (historically speaking) for more than a thousand years, necessaries and luxuries for a mighty capital, and must have possessed peculiar advantages, which could alone have enabled it successfully to withstand the capricious whims of Assyrian, Median, Persian, Macedonian, and Parthian despots, and have induced them to become its voluntary denizens. Such a vicinity must therefore still possess a great city; for as Mosul draws from the same

sources which once supported Nineveh, as Babylon was exhausted by the Grecian Seleuceia and its barbarian sister, Ctesiphon, as Bagdat rose from the ruins of these twin-cities, as Shuster is the representative of Susa, Schiraz of Persepolis, and Grand Cairo from its minarets looks down upon the ruins of Memphis,—so also there must be a great city, if not on the site, at least in the immediate vicinity of the ancient Ecbatana.

But there are circumstances in the chorographical nature of Greater Media, of which Ecbatana was the capital, that serve to confine the possible position of great towns within very narrow limits. It is so bounded on all sides, either by mountains or deserts, that all its streams (with the exception of the mountain-course of those which flow but a short distance within its borders) are lost in sandy plains. This circumstance materially diminishes the number of spots capable of maintaining large cities, and gives greater certainty to calculations that approximate to the truth. For as the inhabitants of the ancient Chalybon, Damascus, Arta, (Coana,) Maracanda, were situated on streams which rendered it impossible to make great changes, we need not be surprised that their chief cities still remain the same under the kindred names of Haleb or Aleppo, Damas or Damascus, Herat, and Samarcand. On the same principle, I affirm that the ancient Ecbatana, the capital of Media, is the modern Ispahan, the capital of Irak Agemi.

But when I inform the Society, that Sir William

Jones, and the great French orientalists, place Ecbatana at Tauris; and Golius, who has been followed by D'Anville, and later geographers, at Hamadan,—perhaps some apology may be necessary, on my part, for adopting an opinion so much at variance with established authorities, especially when I add, that some great names among ancient geographers are more favourable to the established theory than to mine. In my defence I have simply to state, that it was no spirit of contradiction, no love of paradox, but sheer necessity, that forced me to this conclusion. Having engaged in a literary work, in the course of which a comparative examination of the marches of Alexander became necessary, I found it impossible to reconcile the authentic narration of that expedition with the published maps of ancient Asia. Hence it became necessary for me to re-open the whole question of the Grecian geography of the provinces between the Tigris and the Indus, and one of the results of the inquiry is, the conviction that Ecbatana was either on the site or in the immediate vicinity of Ispahan.

In attempting to impress the Society with a similar conviction, my intention is to prove the truth of my own supposition, without alluding to previous theories; for the establishment of the truth necessarily includes the refutation of errors. The proof will comprehend,

First, An examination of the passages in ancient authors that illustrate the position of Ecbatana, and their verification on Arrowsmith's large map of the outlines of the country between Delhi and Constantinople.

Secondly, An attempt to account for the errors of certain ancient geographers.

Thirdly, A historical and chorographical survey of the modern Ispahan.

Before Alexander had laid open the eastern world to the nations of the west, the Greeks were almost utterly ignorant of the geography of Media, Persia Proper, and the provinces to the east. The authentic information of Herodotus terminates at Susa; nor does he attempt to fix the position of any place in the upper provinces. After the expulsion of the Seleucidæ, these provinces were again closed against the western nations, until the frequent struggles between Parthia and Rome for the possession of Armenia threw some additional light on the geography of the neighbouring provinces. Most of our authentic information, therefore, must be derived from the historians of Alexander and of his immediate successors. Had time spared the original memoirs of Aristobulus and Ptolemy, the generals and biographers of Alexander; did we still possess the history of the two generations of his successors, (the Diadochi and Epigoni,) written by Hieronymus, the Cardian, the friend and companion, first of Eumenes, and after his death, of Antigonus and his son Demetrius,—the subject would have been comparatively easy of explanation. As, however, Arrian expressly took the former for his guides, and Diodorus Siculus, in his account of the struggle between Eumenes and Antigonus, had evidently the Cardian's work before him, it may yet be possible to solve the problem and unravel the difficulty in which geographers have entangled them-

selves. Arrian, after bringing Alexander to Babylon, describes him as marching in twenty days to Susa.*

Here I am compelled to make a digression, in order to set right the comparative geography of ancient Susiana, the modern Khusistan, especially as connected with its rivers; for upon the right understanding of these depends much of the following proof. The identity of the modern Shus and the ancient Susa had been so ably proved by Rennel, that any observation on the subject might have been spared, had not Mr Kinneir, in his admirable memoir on the geography of the Persian empire, darkened by his comments what his map had beautifully illustrated. But his labours have rendered my task easy, and I doubt not, that, as I feel most grateful to him for the light he has thrown on the geography of the Persian empire, he will not be displeased if I show that there is no "impossibility of reconciling the present courses of the rivers in this province with the accounts given of them in the writings of ancient historians."†

Herodotus says, that after crossing the Euphrates, the traveller to Susa would have to cross four more navigable rivers before he arrived on the Choaspes.‡ The first Tigris, the second Tigris, the third Tigris, the fourth the Gyndes. After passing these four navigable rivers, the traveller, according to Herodotus, would arrive at a fifth,

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* Book iii. cap. 17. † Kinneir, Geogr. Pers. v. 104.
‡ Book v. cap. 52.

the Choaspes, also navigable, on which Susa was situated. This is the Kerah of the map, beyond which are marked the ruins of Susa, (Shus,) as indicated by Rennel. Had not Mr Kinneir taken it for granted that it could not be proved that Susa was on the eastern side of the Choaspes, he would not have confounded the rivers as he has done. Strabo expressly asserts, that "Susa, an inland city, is situated on the Choaspes, not far beyond the bridge."* Thus also, Quintus Curtius, in describing the march of Alexander from Babylon to Susa, says, "the king kindly received the son of Abulites, the satrap of Susa, who had been sent by his father to meet him, and under his guidance reached the Choaspes, famed for the delicacy of its water. Here Abulites himself met Alexander with gifts of royal magnificence,"† and conducted him to the city. Nor can there be any doubt that the same river was also called the Eulæus by the Macedonians. No fact is oftener stated by ancient authors, from Herodotus down, than that "the great king drinks of the water of the Choaspes alone, and of no other."‡ But Strabo asserts the same of the Eulæus. "The Persian kings procure their water from the Eulæus, as it is the lightest of all waters, so that a drachma will outweigh an Attic cotyle of it."§ When the prophet Daniel writes, "I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam, and I saw in a

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* Book xv. cap. 3.
† Book v. cap. 3.
‡ Book v. cap. 188.
§ Book xv. cap 3.

vision, as I was by the river Ulai,"* and when Antigonus falls back, as will be shown hereafter, on the Eulæus, the river Choaspes is meant in both cases.

According to Diodorus, Alexander marched from Susa, and reached the Tigris on the fourth day.† In this he is supported by Curtius, who calls the river the Pasitigris, or Eastern Tigris, (as oriental scholars explain the word.) In Diodorus we have a particular description of the stream, evidently copied from the work of a personal observer, who must have seen one of the elephants of Eumenes wading through with uplifted trunk. "The breadth of the river is in general three, in some places four stadia. Its depth in the middle of the stream is equal to the height of an elephant. After a course of 700 stadia across the plain, it discharges its waters into the sea."‡ It was up the Pasitigris that Nearchus and the Indian fleet sailed, after returning into the Persian Gulf. "Thence they sailed up the Pasitigris, through an inhabited and flourishing country, and having ascended for 650 stadia, they came to anchor, waiting the return of the messengers despatched by Nearchus to ascertain where the king was. But when it was announced that Alexander was advancing (from Persis), they again sailed up the river, and anchored near the Bridge of Boats, which Alexander and his army must cross on their way to Susa,"§ distant, as mentioned before, four days' march.

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* Chap. 8. † P. 597. ‡ P. 580.
§ Arrian, Ind. Hist. cap. 42.

The numerous inhabitants and the prosperity of the country have long vanished under the blasting influence of civil tyranny and bigoted ignorance; but the noble river still remains a lasting monument of the bounty of God and of the indolence of man. "The Karoon is a very noble river, being in many parts upwards of 300 yards in breadth, and navigable for boats of twenty-five tons burden as far as Kishtibund, four miles from Shuster."* "It contains, after its confluence with the Abzal at Bundikeel, in my opinion, a greater body of waters than either the Euphrates or Tigris, separately considered."† I need not say that there is no other river within four days' march of Susa, except the Karoon, to which the above descriptions of the ancient Pasitigris can possibly be applied.

But their identity can be fixed beyond the power of contradiction. For another great stream, the Coprates, is mentioned by the ancient historians as intervening between the Choaspes, or Eulæus, and the Pasitigris, and falling into the latter at a point below the line of road leading from Susa to Persis.

When Eumenes understood that Antigonus was marching against him from Babylonia, he threw a garrison into the citadel of Susa, and with the remainder of his army retired to the Tigris (Pasitigris), or Karoon, at the place where the river touches on the Uxian Hills, where also the bridge was. His intention was to dispute the passage of

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* Kinneir, Geog. Memoir, p. 87. † Ib. 293.

the river with Antigonus; he therefore lined its eastern banks with his troops. Antigonus arrived at Susa; and, after having in vain summoned the governor of the citadel to surrender, marched by night (for it was the dog-days) against Eumenes. "He halted on the banks of the Coprates, and prepared to cross it. This river flows from the mountainous region, and discharges itself into the Tigris (Pasitigris), which was eighty stadia distant from the head-quarters of Eumenes. The breadth of the Coprates was four hundred feet, and the current was rapid, so that it could not be crossed without flat-bottomed boats moved by poles. Antigonus ferried over a body of infantry in these, with orders to dig a fosse, throw up a rampart, and to wait the arrival of the rest of the troops."* But Eumenes, who had been on the watch, attacked the detachment which had crossed, and destroyed or captured the whole of it; and Antigonus, thus baffled in his attempt to cross the Coprates, fell back on the Eulæus (or Choaspes.) On consulting the map, we instantly see that the Coprates must be the Modern Abzal which is described by Mr Kinneir,† as being, of the four great rivers of Khusistan, the next in magnitude to the Karoon, and are enabled to understand the following quotation from Strabo: "Alexander crossed many other rivers which flow through this country towards the Persian Gulf. For after the Choaspes comes the Coprates and the Pasitigris, which also flows from the Uxian Hills."‡

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* Diod. p. 680. † Per. Mem. p. 96. ‡ Book xv. cap. 3.

But it may be asked, if the truth be so evident as I have shown, to what can be imputed the extraordinary errors which have for so many centuries confounded the geography of the rivers of Susiana? The question is easily answered; had Herodotus and the original historians of the Macedonian conquests in Asia been alone followed, no great mistake could have occurred. But the later writers were guilty of mistakes for which it is difficult to account, and with them the Pasitigris of the Macedonians, and the Karoon of the map, is called the Eulæus. It may be sportively supposed that the Macedonians, exasperated at the view of a fourth Tigris crossing their path, and puzzled by the double name of the Choaspes, exercised a sort of geographical distributive justice, and bestowed the superfluous name of the Choaspes on the unfortunate river which only possessed the generic name Tigris. But, be the cause what it might be, the Eulæus of later writers was the Pasitigris of the first Macedonians. Even Arrian, accurate as he in general is, has, in his history of Alexander, called by the name of Eulæus the very same stream which in his Indian history is denominated Pasitigris. "Alexander ordered Hephæstion to lead the greater part of the land-army towards the Persian Gulf. But as the fleet had now sailed up into Susiana, (τὴν Σουσιανὴν γῆν,) he himself embarked on board with the body-guard and the elite of the phalanx, and a few of the associate cavalry, and sailed down the river *Eulæus* to the sea. Leaving the weather-beaten ships, which formed the majority of the fleet, at a place not far from the mouth of the river, he himself,

with the best of the fast-sailing vessels, past from the mouth of the Eulæus by sea into the mouth of the Tigris. But the remainder of the fleet was carried into the latter river, along that canal which leads from the Eulæus into it."* A reference to the map will prove that this Eulæus must have been the Pasitigris of Nearchus, as recorded by Arrian himself; and that Alexander must have sailed down by the same river along which Nearchus sailed up. Even if we allow that the fleet might have dropped down the Pasitigris from the bridge, and have been towed up the Abzal to the latitude of Susa, the argument must remain the same, and prove the identity of the Eulæus of the Alexandrian Arrian with the Pasitigris of the Nearchian Arrian. The foundation of the error seems to have been the idea that Nearchus, who, according to his own account, sailed up the Pasitigris to the bridge leading from Susa to Persis, (which bridge, according to both Diodorus and Curtius, was four days' march to the east of Susa,) actually sailed up to Susa itself. This is Pliny's doctrine, (whose opinion varies according to the sentiments of the author, transcribed and abridged at the time.) "Susa is 250 miles distant from the Persian Gulf. A village called Aphle is close to the Chaldæan Lake, by which the fleet of Alexander the Great sailed up the Pasitigris to Susa. The navigation up to Susa from the village is sixty-five miles."† It was the same mistake that compelled (I may say) the learned and

* Arrian, book vii. cap. 7. † Book vii. cap. 28.

judicious Dr Vincent to place Susa at Shuster, and to convert two petty mountain-torrents into the impetuous Coprates and majestic Pasitigris. In Cherefeddin's Life of Timour there is a journal of his march from Shuster to the fortress of Calad Sefid, or Kelat Suffeed.* At the end of the second day's march, Timour encamped on the river Doudanke; at the end of the fourth, on the Kouroucankende. Had the Karoon been the Eulæus, and had Shuster been Susa, the Doudanke and Kouroucankende would doubtless have represented the Coprates and the Pasitigris, for the distances correspond. But we look in vain in Mr Kinneir's map for any streams between Shuster and Ramhormus, although I have too many reasons to be satisfied with Ali's accuracy, to doubt that they do in reality flow from the hills into the plain at the stated distances. Timour descended with his army from *Ouroojerd*, (*Booroojerd* of the map,) between the Kerat and the Abzal,—crossed the Abzal, over a magnificent bridge, built by Sapor Delactaf, (according to Persian tradition,) and entered Desfoul. He then marched on Shuster, and arrived on the banks of the Ttchar Danke, where he was met by the deputies from Shuster, who conducted him over the bridge into the town. As the Tartars, (with great respect for the Russians, be it spoken,) say Tchirkash, where we would say Kircass, we need not doubt that, since Timour's days, the name of the ancient Pasitigris has not been changed, and that his Tchar,

* Book iii. cap. 24.

or Kar, is the Persian Karoon. This latter digression is due even to the errors of a man like Dr Vincent. To return.

Alexander marched in twenty days from Babylon to Susa. The distance on the map between Hillah and Susa is 240 miles. This divided by 20 gives 12 miles as the average progress of the Macedonian army during twenty days. And I may state, that on examining the numerous marches recorded by Arrian, within known points, 12 miles, map-distance, appears to be their mean length.* As it is impossible for us to discover the exact roads by which the Macedonians marched, I shall confine myself to the rectilinear measurement of the distance, according to the scale, between the two extreme points, without making any allowance for deviations, or inequality of surface; for, as the comparative distance is alone required for my proof, the actual road-distance is of little consequence.

I cannot help observing, however, that a casual accident mentioned by Mr Kinneir serves to show the very line by which Alexander marched to Susa. "Seven miles above Koote the boat stranded for several hours on one of the piers of an ancient stone bridge, the only one, I believe, ever built across the Tigris below Mosul, and so old that no one can tell by whom, or in what age it was erected."† On consulting the map, it will be seen that this bridge, allowing for a slight inclination to the south, to avoid

* Arrian, book iii. cap. 17. † Journey through Asia Minor, ii. p. 500.

the Hamrun Hills, is in the straight line drawn from Babylon to Susa, and was no doubt constructed by the great king, for his annual progresses between his two western capitals. The pier, which for more than two thousand years has thus successfully withstood the ceaseless attacks of the rapid Tigris, and respecting which even the voice of tradition is silent, speaks powerfully to our hearts, and we are tempted to consider, whether, amidst the convulsions, moral and physical, to which the world is subjected, the granite masses of Waterloo Bridge will ever be viewed with similar doubts and feelings.*

As mentioned before, on the authority of Diodorus and Curtius, Alexander quitted Susa, and reached the Karoon or Pasitigris, in four days. As the bridge across this stream, on the road leading from Susa to Persis, was close to the hills, the modern Shuster must have represented the place where Alexander crossed, for "Shuster is close to the mountains."† The distance between Sus and Shuster, as measured on the map, is 50 English miles. These divided by four give 12½ for each day's march.

The distance between the Pasitigris, or Shuster, and Persepolis, is not given by Arrian, as Alexander was compelled to fight his way through many obstructions, and the time consumed could not therefore be a guide for the space traversed. But this omission

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* After the destruction of Babylon, it would, comparatively speaking, be of no use.

† Per. Geog. Kin. p. 105.

is amply supplied by Diodorus Siculus. When Antigonus, after his repulse on the Coprates, had forced his way over the Cossæan Mountains into Media, "Eumenes and his fellow-generals quitted the Pasitigris, and retired to Persepolis, the capital of Persia, the distance being 24 days' march." The distance on the map, measured as before, is 290 English miles. These divided by 24 give 12½ for the average length of each day's march.

Cherefeddin has given a very minute account of Timour's march over the same ground, as far as Calad Sefid, or Kelat Suffeed, which, as it may be the occasion of calling the attention of some future traveller to the ground, I shall insert here:—

"At Shuster, Timour separated himself from the body of the army, and on the 17th of April marched rapidly upon Shiraz. On the road he sent a second courier to the Prince Omar Sheik, who had made himself master of Ahwaz, with orders to put himself at the head of the baggage, and the body of the army, and to follow and join him at Shiraz. On the 19th Timour crossed the Doudanke River. Two days after he encamped on the banks of the River Kouroucankende. On the 22d of April he passed the River of Ram Hermez, and encamped on the eastern bank. On the 23d he encamped on the River of Fei. On the 24th, after marching all night, he encamped on the plain of Zohra. On the 25th he passed by Kerdestan, crossed the Ab-Argown, and encamped at Bebahan. On the 26th he crossed the Abchirin, and encamped on the plain of Lachter. On the 27th he passed by Kedge Havas, and encamped at the

source of the Canbidac. On the 28th he encamped at the village Julaha. On the 29th he passed by Bacht, crossed the Ab Chob, and encamped at Malemir Chal. On the 30th he crossed the River Cavedan, where he procured information respecting the fortress Calad Sefid. The first of May he formed his army in battle-array, and went and encamped at the foot of Calad Sefid, which is one of the strongest fortresses in Asia."*

The distance on the map, taken as before, between Shuster and Calad Sefid is 220 English miles. These divided by 15 give $14\frac{8}{11}$ as the average rate of every day's march. But when we consider that Timour marched unencumbered with baggage, at the head of a select body of troops; that on one occasion he marched all night; and that the most difficult part of the road remained over the hills between Calad Sefid (the Persian Gates) and Persepolis,—it must be admitted that there is a remarkable coincidence between the average speed of the Tartar and of the Macedonian army. We look in vain for Timour's numerous streams in Mr Kinneir's map. But of their existence there can be no doubt, and they may safely be inserted at any time, as Diodorus affirms that Susiana, to the east of the Pasitigris, was intersected by numerous streams.

The next itinerary is the march from Persepolis to Ecbatana. Arrian's account of Alexander's march

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* Cherefeddin's Life of Timour, by Petit de la Croix, book iii, cap. 24

is not very distinct. "Alexander advanced towards Media, enters the territory of the Parætacæ, and appoints Oxartes their satrap. But when he was informed on his march that Darius had determined to meet him, and risk another battle, (for, according to report, the Scythians and Cadusians were marching to his assistance,) he gave orders that the beasts of burden, their drivers, and the rest of the baggage, should follow. Advancing with the rest of the army in battle-array, he entered Media on the twelfth day. Here he learned that Darius was not strong enough to give him battle, and that the Cadusians and Scythians were not marching to his assistance; that consequently he had determined upon flight. Alexander on this marched forward still more rapidly. But, when distant three days' march from Ecbatana, he was met by Bisthanes, the son of Ochus, who informed him that Darius had fled five days before, carrying with him 7000 talents from the Median treasury, and accompanied by 3000 infantry and 6000 cavalry. Alexander entered Ecbatana."*

There are two omissions in this account which render it impossible to draw any conclusion from it alone. The first is, that we do not know from what spot to commence the twelve days' march. The second is, that the interval between the first report of Darius's inability to fight and the appearance of Bisthanes is not particularized. Quintus Curtius enables us to correct the first omission satisfactorily;

* Arrian, book iii. cap. 19.

for he states that an expedition against the mountaineers was finished in 30 days; after which Alexander returned to Persepolis, and commenced his march into Media.* For the second omission we have no remedy; but it is not probable that it was more than one day, otherwise Arrian would have mentioned it.† If for these 16 days we assume twelve miles upon the map as the average length of the daily march of a Macedonian army in these regions, the produce will be 192 miles; but this distance on the main road to Media will bring us, according to the map, to Ispahan. If it be objected, that in this case Alexander marched twelve days without encumbrance, and increased his rapidity for the last four days, it must be remembered that the winter had now set in, that Mount Zagros, with its ridges and deep ravines, had to be crossed; and, on consulting the map, it will be seen that the deviations of the road from a straight rectilinear line, connecting Persepolis and Ispahan, are far greater than in the preceding cases. All which circumstances combined make the 12 miles, map-distance, in this case equal at least in value to the $14\frac{3}{4}$ of the unencumbered Timour. But we luckily possess an account of the same distance performed by another Macedonian army. "Antigonus gathered his troops, entered Ecbatana, and having taken thence 5000 talents of uncoined silver, marched for Persis, the distance to the Persepolitan palace being twenty days' march."‡ But Antigonus

* Arrian, book v. cap. 6. † Quintus Curtius, book v. cap. 6.
‡ Diodorus, p. 696.

was marching in peace, and was conveying along with him a treasure of immense weight and value, and consequently did not travel at the usual rate of a Macedonian army. In the continuation of this very march he was 22 days on the road from Susa to Babylon. As the same space was traversed by Alexander and his army in 20 days, we may infer, that, at the common rate of marching, a Macedonian army would have been about 18 days on the road between Ecbatana and Persepolis. I need not say that it would be hopeless to attempt to reconcile these itineraries with any spot far from the vicinity of Ispahan, not to speak of Tauris or Hamadan. It is as curious as satisfactory to be able to show that Nadir Shah spent exactly the same space of time between Ispahan and Estakar as Antigonus did between Ecbatana and Persepolis. But it must be remembered that it was the winter season, and the country had been laid waste by the Affgans. "Thamas Kouli Khan, (after quitting Ispahan,) having supported the rigour of the season with great constancy, after a march of twenty days, arrived near Astakar."* I cannot, however, refrain from mentioning here, that it was not these calculated distances that first made me doubt the truth of the established geography. The light first flashed on my mind in consequence of my estimation of the character of Alexander. On examining the lines of roads, and taking into consideration that Alexander, when three

* Hanway's Nadir Shah, part xiii. cap. 1.

days' march distant from Ecbatana, heard of the escape of Darius five days before, in the direction of the Caspian Gates, I was impressed with a conviction, depending on moral grounds, as strong as if grounded on scientific deductions, that had Hamadan been Ecbatana, Alexander would never have approached it, but by a cross-road have gained at least two days' march upon the royal fugitive. The suspicion of the fallibility of men like D'Anville, Rennell, &c. being thus once roused, could not be lulled without a thorough investigation of the whole case in all its original bearings.

The next line of march that serves to illustrate the position of Ecbatana, is Alexander's second visit. But, as the mistakes connected with this march are perhaps not to be surpassed in the annals of geography, it is necessary to make a few previous observations. When Alexander (*vid. supra*) had sailed from the mouth of the Pasitigris into the Tigris, he conducted the fleet up the latter river to the spot where Hephæstion and the land-army were encamped. As Hephæstion's orders had been to march from Susa to the Persian Gulf, the encampment would in all probability have been not far from the mouth of the Kerah. "From that place he sailed to Opis, a city situated on the Tigris. As he sailed up the river he demolished all the barriers, and reduced the current to the same level. These barriers had been constructed by the Persians, that no naval force, if victorious in the gulf, might sail up the rivers into the heart of their country. As the Persians were not a naval power, they had recourse to this contrivance,

which, by the frequency of the barriers, rendered it impossible for a fleet to sail up the Tigris. But Alexander regarded such inventions as unworthy of victors. Nor did he value such security, which in truth he proved useless, by easily demolishing these precau tionary defences of the Persians. But on his arrival at Opis he convoked the Macedonians, and announced, &c."* Then follows an account of the mutiny, its suppression, the reconciliation and the departure of Craterus for Greece at the head of the Macedonian invalids. After this there occurs a short hiatus in the text of Arrian, which has deprived us of his account of this itinerary, with the exception of a few observations which he had apparently inserted at the end of it. It is on this account, however, mutilated as it is, that all the leading geographers have grounded their (I may honestly say it) errors. They have agreed, that as Arrian describes the mutiny, &c., as occurring at Opis, so also his departure for Ecbatana must have been for the same place. Hence the discovery of the situation of Opis became a matter of importance, and, after various calculations, it has been finally fixed, as may be seen on referring to the map, as having existed on the Tigris, about seventy miles above Bagdat. They require us, therefore, to believe that Alexander absolutely dragged (for in no other way can the greater part of a voyage up the Tigris be performed) his fleet more than three hundred miles up the river; that he broke down all the bridges, dykes, and dams,

* Arrian, lib. vii. cap. 7.

up to the imaginary site of Opis; and that not only the efficient part of his army, but even the maimed, the halt, the aged, and the diseased, had, by a parallel line of march, arrived simultaneously at the same place; and that yet, during the whole of this Herculean undertaking, not one event worthy of being recorded by the minute historian had occurred; that the fleet descended the Tigris in the same manner, refused to avail itself of the numerous canals by which it might have past from the Tigris into the Euphrates, and sailed down again to the gulf, that it might have the additional pleasure of sailing up the Euphrates. For, on Alexander's return from Ecbatana to Babylon, "he found *there* the fleet of which Nearchus was admiral, and which had sailed up the river from the Persian Gulf."*

Cellarius hesitated to fix the actual situation of Opis, but said that it must have been in his province of Chaldea, not far from the mouth of the Tigris. But the more modern geographers, in explaining Xenophon, having carried his Opis to the spot indicated on Arrowsmith's map, Dr Vincent † determined to fix the Opis of Alexander in the same place, although he well knew that the situation of Opis had been fixed by Herodotus ‡ on the Tigris, below the place where the Gyndes joins it; and the following passage from Strabo might have convinced him that the Opis of Alexander was below Seleuceia:§—"Ships can sail

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* Arrian, book vii. cap. 19.
† Disser. Voy. Veach. p. 493.
‡ Herod. book i. cap. 189.
§ Strabo, lib. xvi. cap. 1.

up the Euphrates as far as Babylon, and up the Tigris as far as Opis and the present Seleuceia. But Opis is a village, the mart of the neighbouring districts. The Persians, wishing on principle to prevent the navigation of the rivers, and afraid of foreign invasions, had raised artificial barriers; but Alexander, when visiting these rivers, destroyed as many as he could, *especially up to Opis.*"

But the most extraordinary circumstance connected with this discussion is, that the position of Opis has nothing to do with the subject, and that the discovery of its site would not in the slightest degree elucidate the question. The proof is easy: Diodorus, to whom alone we owe the preservation of the second itinerary to Ecbatana, omitted as of no consequence the excursion from Susa down the Pasitigris to the gulf, up the Tigris to Opis and the return to Susa. According to him, therefore, the mutiny, its suppression, and the discharge of the veterans, all took place at Susa. He then proceeds, "Alexander put himself at the head of his troops, marched from Susa and crossed the Tigris." (Pasitigris, which almost invariably Diodorus calls the Tigris.)* Arrian, on the contrary, describes these occurrences as having taken place at Opis. The great geographers, availing themselves of this apparent discordance between the two historians, have thus argued. According to Arrian, all the transactions respecting the mutiny, its suppression, and the departure of the invalids, took place at Opis. But

* Lib. vii. cap. 8.

Opis (*vid.* Xenophon) is at the mouth of the Physcus, seventy miles above Bagdat. Therefore Alexander must have commenced his march from the mouth of the Physcus. "But Diodorus says that he marched from Susa?" "It matters not; Arrian is better authority than Diodorus; for Susa read Opis." "But Xenophon expressly mentions, that his Opis was on the eastern side of the Tigris; how could Diodorus then say that in marching to Ecbatana Alexander crossed the Tigris?" "Transeat cum aliis Diodori erroribus,—it is his fault, not ours." In reply to this mode of arguing, my answer is, that no one admires the judgment, accuracy, and simplicity of Arrian more than myself, and did the question depend on the mere authority of the two writers, I should not hesitate for a moment; but in this case the error is referable to Arrian, and we ought not to forget that he was but a compiler from the works of others, and that, especially towards the end of his labours, omissions and mistakes were likely to occur, and have occurred. Such was the case in the present instance; for he forgot to mention the return of Alexander and the land-forces to Susa. Whether any notice of that omission was taken by him previous to describing the march to Ecbatana can now only be a matter of conjecture; but his remaining works prove that it was only an omission; for in the account of the mutiny it is expressly asserted by Alexander in his speech, that it occurred at Susa. "Go! (says he in that splendid speech, which bears the impress of his own lofty spirit,) go all of you, and on your return home announce, that after Alexander, your king, had con-

quered the Persians, Medes, Bactrians, and Sacæ; had subdued the Uxii, Arachosii, and Drangæ; had added to the empire Parthia, Chorasmia, and Hyrcania to the shores of the Caspian Sea; had passed over Mount Caucasus, beyond the Caspian Gates; had crossed the Oxus, Jaxartes, and even the Indus, an exploit achieved by no other except Dionysus; had also penetrated beyond the Hydaspes, the Acesines, the Hydraotes, and would have crossed the Hyphasis also, had not your fears prevented him; had entered the great ocean by the two mouths of the Indus; had traversed the Gedrosian desert, never before crossed by an army; had during the march made himself master of Gedrosia and Oreitia, and, after his fleet had sailed round to Persia from the Indian coast, he himself had been safely conducted by you to Susa,—you *there* deserted him, and committed his personal safety to the care of vanquished barbarians." Had it not been for this passage, there are other reasons sufficient to have proved to any person but an index-hunter, that the mutiny took place at one of the royal residences, and not at Opis. Disabled soldiers could not have marched by cross-roads from the mouth of the Gyndes to that of the imaginary Physcus. At Opis there could have been no royal palace, no treasury to supply the enormous sums which Alexander on this occasion lavished on his veterans.*

This digression must be pardoned, as it would not have been respectful to pass over the errors of men

* Arrian, book vii. cap. 10.

like D'Anville, Vincent, and Rennell, who have, in this case, deplorably darkened knowledge with many words, and put the whole map of ancient Asia out of joint.

But to return to Susa and Alexander.

" Alexander, having put himself at the head of his army, marched from Susa, crossed the [Pasi-]Tigris, and encamped in the villages called Caræ. In the four following days he traversed Sita, and arrived at a spot called Sambana. He remained there seven days, then recommenced his march, and on the third day arrived among a tribe called Celonæ, where to this day dwells a Bœotian people, whose ancestors had been carried away by Xerxes. These still preserve their original customs. They speak two languages; one the language of the country, the other consisting principally of Greek terms. They also retain some traces of Grecian civilization. Here he spent the rest of the day; and, after recommencing his march, deviated from the straight line in order to visit and take a view of a spot called Bagistane, abounding with fruit-trees and every thing else conducive to enjoyment. He next entered a district capable of feeding immense herds of horses. In ancient times their number was said to have amounted to 160,000; but, when Alexander visited the place, no more than 60,000 were counted. He remained there thirty days, and in seven days more reached the Median Ecbatana." *

In examining this Itinerary, it is to be observed, that the distance between Susa and the [Pasi-]Tigris

* Diodorus, p. 622.

is omitted, as having been mentioned before. From the same expression being used, it may also be inferred, that the passage took place either at Shuster or in its immediate neighbourhood; for, as will be shown below, it could not have been much higher, lower of course it was not. In the vicinity of Shuster must therefore the villages Caræ be looked for; and, were I disposed to place any reliance on etymological inferences, I would boldly affirm, that Sapor built his new capital, Shuster, on the site of the Caræ villages, and that in the Karoon, or river of Caræ, we still recognize the original name of Shuster.* That there can be no material error we may be sure, for Alexander encamped in the Caræ villages after crossing the Pasitigris; and, on consulting the map, it will be seen, by the course of the river, that, did he not cross at Shuster or near it, there would have been no need of crossing it at all. It may illustrate the subject to add, that Ptolemy places Carine on the western frontier of Southern Media, and that we are informed by Isidore of Charax, that it was not a town, but the first Median district on the great road between Seleuceia and Ecbatana. But I reserve the explanation of Isidore's Itinerary for another opportunity.

The distance between Shuster and Ispahan on the map is 170 English miles; these divided by 14, the number of days actually spent in marching, give 12

* On the same principle Ebn Haukal and the Nubian geographer invariably call the Caroon the river of Tostar (Shuster.)

miles as the average length of every day's march, and irrevocably, by completing the triangle, fix Ecbatana at Ispahan, or in its vicinity.

The result of the itineraries is as follows: We have a long line connecting Babylon and Persepolis, distant from each other, according to the map, 580 miles, and traversed by Macedonian armies in 48 days. This line is bisected at Shuster, and the 290 miles of its eastern division were traversed by a Macedonian army in 24 days. The next side of the triangle, formed by a line connecting Persepolis and Ispahan, was 18 days' march, according to the usual pace of a Macedonian army; the distance on the map 190 miles. The circuit necessary to be taken, and the difficulties of the road, compensate for the apparent disproportion of this line. The triangle is completed by the line that connects Shuster and Ispahan, distant 170 miles on the map, and traversed by a Macedonian army in 14 days.

On the subject of Celonæ and Sambana, names of districts or tribes, I have nothing to say. They, to the best of my knowledge, only occur in this passage of Diodorus, consequently cannot be illustrated from ancient writers. The map can give us no help, for it is a blank. Even in Alexander's time the road seems to have been through a wild and uncultivated country, as no cities, properly so speaking, are mentioned on the route. Such it is to this day, if we may trust two short notices of journeys between Shuster and Ispahan, inserted in Mr Kinneir's Persian Itineraries. How far Alexander deviated from the road in order to visit Bagistane we are not in-

formed, nor what was the extent of his excursions during the 30 days he remained among the herds of horses. But as Bagistane has been before mentioned by Diodorus, and the horse-pastures by others, it will be necessary to allude to them.

"Semiramis, when she had completed her labours at Babylon, having arrived at Mount Bagistane, encamped and formed a park 12 stadia in circumference. It is situated in a plain, and contains a large spring, from which the plants are irrigated. Mount Bagistanes is sacred to Jupiter, and the side facing the garden is a precipitous rock 17 stadia high. Semiramis smoothed the lower part of this rock, and sculptured upon it her own figure, surrounded by one hundred of her guards, with this inscription in Syriac letters:—'Semiramis, by piling the packs of the beasts of burden that accompanied her, broke the steepness of this precipice, and by means of them ascended to the summit.'"*

If Diodorus could be implicitly trusted, (as he is not, from his great love of the marvellous,) I would recommend future travellers, if once admitted into that wild country, to make particular inquiries respecting such antiquities. The traces of them ought to be looked for either on the right or the left of the straight road between Shuster and Ispahan. I am the more inclined to believe that Diodorus is right here, as he is confirmed in a striking manner by Isidore of Charax, when describing the same district.

* Diodorus, page 72.

"Hence Cambadena, which contains five villages, and the city Batana, situated on a mountain, where is the image and pillar of Semiramis." And perhaps I am justified in requesting the future inquirer to look for the very spot in longitude 50-45, in latitude 32-15, where, according to the Arabic numerals of Uleg Bey's Tables, the city "Semiram" is placed.

In this immediate neighbourhood also must the extraordinary work with which Semiramis supplied Ecbatana with water be looked for. Its modern appearance, as I believe, is thus described by Chardin: "Ispahan is built on the river Zeinderood. This river rises in the mountains of Jagabat, three days' journey to the north, and is in itself but a petty stream; but Abbas the Great conducted into it another river much larger, by piercing, at an incredible expense, the mountains which some say are the Acrocerontes, (the Orontes of Diodorus,) 30 leagues distant from Ispahan; so that the Zeinderood, during the spring, is as large at Ispahan as the Seine in winter at Paris. The river which has been conducted into the Zeinderood is called Mahmoud Ker (Mohammed the Deaf.) The mountains whence it flows are of the solid rock, of equable height, and contiguous to each other. They are penetrated in different places by vents and air-holes to allow the wind to pass through. Similar vents may be seen in the walls of bastions in some countries. The water flows through the mountains in various places. Among others there is seen an opening equal in circumference to four hogsheads, through which it runs as through a tunnel, and falls

into a large and very deep basin, sunk in the rock either by the fall of the water or by the hand of man. Thence it spreads in the plain, and pursues its course to join the Zeinderood. On ascending the mountains above the large opening, there is seen through an air-hole, formed by nature, a body of water in the bosom of the mountain like a still and unfathomable lake. If a stone be cast into it, the echo of its sound is loudly reverberated through the cavities of the mountain. The noise of the water falling down the rock in its course to its channel is also very great; hence the stream is called Mahmoud Ker, because persons cannot hear each other's voices while standing near that rush and fall of water. They say that it is not spring-water, but melted snow which distils through the rocks into that enclosed lake."

As I shall prove most fully, that Ispahan was a mighty city for many centuries before the reign of Abbas the Great, and as it would have been impossible for the petty stream that flows from the north to have fertilized the plain of Ispahan for the supply of a large population, the artificial work above described must have been coeval with the greatness of the city; nor can any rational doubt be entertained as to its identity with the work ascribed by Diodorus to Semiramis. The distance alone does not coincide, but the various readings of the passage in Diodorus render it probable that his numbers are corrupted.

Shah Abbas is to the modern Persians what Hercules was to the Greeks and Semiramis to the Assyrians. Every great work is ascribed to him; and

the lively author of the Sketches of Persia describes himself as wearied with the eternal repetition of his name.

The immense labour which he bestowed in the fruitless attempt to conduct the waters of the Karoon into the plain of Ispahan might also have given rise to the report of his having been the successful author of the more ancient work. Shah Abbas might also have repaired the latter, and thus given his name to it; for, as Langles, the editor of Chardin's works, very justly observes, both Arabs and Persians frequently confound the restorer of a building with its original founder.

I have not been able to find any other description of this extraordinary work, and regret much that none of Sir John Malcolm's staff should have visited it, as a more particular description is much wanted. Perhaps even inscriptions may be found in the neighbourhood, if carefully examined.

In examining the position of the horse-pastures, it will be necessary to quote Arrian's words:—"During this march, Alexander is said to have seen the plain set apart for the royal brood-mares. Herodotus says, that both the plain and horses are called Nisæan. In ancient times their number amounted to 150,000; but Alexander found no more than 50,000, for the greater part had been stolen by robbers."* On referring to Herodotus, it will be seen that Arrian has confounded two passages of that author; the first,†—

* Book vii. cap. 13. † Book i. cap. 192.

"Tritantæchmes, satrap of Babylonia or Assyria, in addition to his war-horses, possessed 800 stallions and 16,000 brood-mares." The second,*—"Next followed ten Nisæan horses called sacred, with splendid trappings. They are called Nisæan for the following reason: There is a great plain in Media called the Nisæan Plain, which produced these horses of great size." The natural inference from these passages would be, that the Nisæan horses were a particular breed selected for their beauty, and perhaps rareness, for royal use alone; for we hear of only 18 in the march of Xerxes' army; consequently, that they ought not to be confounded with the herds of the Babylonian satrap, which, including the colts and untrained and uncaught horses, must have approached the number stated by Arrian. Strabo† expressly asserts, that there was a dispute whether the Nisæan horse was a native of Media or of Armenia, as specimens of the breed were to be found in both countries.

To settle the exact position of the Nisæan Plain would consequently lead to no satisfactory result. Indeed Strabo removes it out of the field of our present inquiry, by expressly stating that it was close to the Caspian gates. Whether the horses seen by Alexander, and those mentioned by Herodotus, occupied the same plain, must remain a matter of doubt; for although the Assyria of Herodotus must have been a general name for many provinces,‡ and have extended far beyond the limits of the later district

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* Book vii. cap. 40. † Book xi. cap. 13. ‡ Book xv. cap. 1.

so called, as even Strabo, under the general name Assyria, comprehends Babylonia and the territories encircling it, Aturia, Apolloniatis, Elymais, Parætacæ, and Chalonitis, round Mount Zagros; and although it be clear, from Xenophon's account, that horses did not abound either in the plains of Mesopotamia or on the eastern bank of the Tigris;—it is very difficult to believe that the horses of the Babylonian satrap should be pastured to the east of Mount Zagros. If they did, however, graze in Media, as affirmed by Arrian, the natural inference must be, that they were to be found in the southern districts, which were distinguished by the name of Syro-Media. But, not to insist upon this, it is sufficient for us to know, from Polybius, that all the royal herds of horses were confined to Media, and that Alexander visited one of them which lay between Shuster and Ispahan. We shall have occasion again to allude to this subject.

Previous to describing Alexander's return from Ecbatana to Babylon, it will be necessary first to examine the road by which, as mentioned before, Antigonus, when baffled on the Coprates, had forced his way into Media.

"The northern part of Media is mountainous, rough, and cold, inhabited by Cadusii, Amardi, Tapeiri, Cyrtii, and other such tribes, who have no settled habitations, and live by robbery; for Mount Zagros and Mount Niphates contain scattered branches of these tribes, and those who, in Persia and Armenia, are at this time called Cyrtii and Mardi, or Amardi, pursue the same mode of life."* We must not there-

* Strabo, book xi. cap. 13.

fore be surprised to find some of these cognate tribes scattered over many distinct parts of the country. Strabo, however, in the same chapter, enables us, on the authority of Nearchus, who had himself visited the mountains, to fix the position of the tribes of Mount Zagros in his time. "Nearchus says that there are four bandit tribes (on these mountains), the Mardi (or Parætacæ,) who border on the Persians, the Uxii and Elymæi, bordering on the Persians and Susians, and the Cossæi on the Medes; and that all exact tribute from the kings (of Persia;) that the Cossæi, in addition, receive presents as often as the king, after spending the summer in Ecbatana, descends into Babylonia." Of these the Parætacæ or Mardi, although to be found in other mountainous districts, had their principal settlement on that part of Mount Zagros that divided Persia Proper from Media. The Uxii occupied the country between the Pasitigris and the Oroatis, and are thus described by Arrian:

"Alexander quits Susa, crosses the Pasitigris, and enters the Uxian territory. The Uxii of the plain were obedient to the Persian satrap, and submitted to Alexander; but the Uxii of the mountains were not subject to the Persians, and then sent deputies to Alexander, that they would not allow him to pass with his army into Persia, except they received the same sum which the Persian king used to pay for being allowed to pass."* Alexander, however, soon taught them that the government had passed into more energetic hands; and nothing but the interces-

* Book iii. cap. xvii.

sion of Sysigambis prevented the utter destruction of the Uxii. As the whole of this country was originally termed Elam, we find that the Elymæi, like the modern Iliots, were to be found in various places. Ptolemy and Pliny call the Uxii Elymæi. Ptolemy also places a branch of them in the mountains that divide Media from Hyrcania; but Elymæis Proper is confined by Strabo to the vales and mountains that are situated between the eastern branch of the Coprates and the Assyrian border, including the various vales formed by the different streams that unite their waters with the Choaspes. The Cossæi of Nearchus must consequently have inhabited that part of Mount Zagros which lies between this arm of the Coprates and the Pasitigris. And here they are placed by Pliny, in two different passages: "To the east of Susiana are the Cossæi, a bandit tribe."*

After these few observations, it is necessary to return to Antigonus, whom we left on the banks of the Choaspes, or Eulæus, after having in vain attempted to force a passage across the Coprates or Abzal.

"Antigonus, having remained some days at Badaca, (or Bagada, most probably the Bargan of Ptolemy, a short way to the north of Susa,) and having refreshed his army after their fatigues, decided on marching to the Median Ecbatana, and making it his head-quarters, while he was reducing the upper satrapies to subjection. But as there were two roads leading into Media, each had its disadvantages; for

* Book vi. cap. 27.

the one was a royal road, and in excellent order, but exposed to the heat; and the circuit necessary to be made by following it would extend the march for forty days. But the other road through the Cossæan tribes was difficult, narrow, precipitous, and exposed to the hostilities of the mountaineers. It was, however, short and cool. It is not easy for an army to pass along this road without the leave of the Barbarian mountaineers; for, independent from ancient times, they live on acorns, fungi, and salted game. Antigonus, at the head of a powerful army, disdained to purchase a passage; he therefore selected the more active of the middle-armed, and of the archers, slingers, and other light troops, and formed them into two divisions. One of these, under the command of Nearchus, was ordered to precede the army, and seize beforehand the narrow and difficult passes; the other was to skirt the line of march on both sides. The van of the phalanx was commanded by Antigonus, the rear by Pithon (the Median satrap.) The advanced guard under Nearchus did not succeed in preoccupying many important positions, for they had been anticipated by the natives. They consequently lost many men, and with difficulty forced their passage. When, therefore, the main body under Antigonus arrived at the difficult passes, it became involved in irremediable dangers; for the natives, acquainted with the country, had preoccupied the summits, and, without ceasing, rolled down immense stones upon the marching phalanx. They also discharged their arrows with extraordinary celerity, and wounded the soldiers, unable either to retaliate or to

avoid the missiles, from the nature of the ground; for, as the road was along a precipice, and difficult of ascent, the elephants, the cavalry, and the heavy-armed infantry were alike exposed to danger and fatigue, and unable to assist themselves; so that Antigonus was reduced to great distress, and repented that he had not followed Pitho's advice, and purchased a passage. However, after losing many men, and endangering the loss of the whole army, he with difficulty reached the cultivated part of Media on the ninth day."*

On examining the map, it will be evident, that this account must materially assist us in determining the position of Ecbatana; for the very assertion of the great circuit necessarily to be made along the royal road, and the saving in space attainable by crossing the Cossæan hills, must prevent us from making any serious mistake.

As far as I have been able to discover, the barrier of Mount Zagros between Assyria, Susiana, and Persia Proper, on one side, and Media on the other, has been traversed by only three royal roads capable of being travelled by armies without serious obstructions. The first is the road by which Darius fled from Arbela along the Armenian mountains, and which is described by Arrian "as not favourable to the march of a great army."† This leads to the pass of Tag, or Kerrund of the map, the Derbend Takti Catun of Timour's Campaigns, and the Takajak

* Diodorus, p. 681. † Book iii. cap. 16.

of Hanway's Nadir Shah. This pass, if honestly defended, is not to be forced. The second is the road which led from Susa in a north-eastern direction up the Susian streams into Media. It was by this road that the Arabs of Omar broke into Media and gained the victory of Nehavend; and it was along this road that Timour led his army from Hamadan to Booroojird, the bridge across the Abzal at Desfoul, Shuster, and finally Shiraz. The third was the road already described as leading from Istakar to Ispahan. Between these two last, we have already seen, that there was one which led over the mountains from Shuster and Ispahan, and of which Mr Kinneir has furnished us with two routes, without imparting any additional information. If, therefore, we imagine ourselves on the Choaspes or Kerah, not far above Susa, and apply the foregoing observations, the argument will not admit of much discussion.

The royal road could be no other than the second above described, which, after passing by Corramabad and Booroojird, joined the great road between Hamadan and Ispahan; and although the distance on the map does not exceed 400 miles, yet the difficulties of the country might easily reduce the average length of every day's march to ten miles, map-distance. We have a striking confirmation of the truth of this in Cherefeddin's account of Timour's march in the same country. "Timour gave Seifeddin the command of the troops of Ourougerd, and three days after arrived at Corramabad. Timour, having quitted Corramabad, marched towards Tostar (Shuster,) and in eleven days arrived at the bridge

over the river Abzal.—The town at the bridge is called Desfoul."* If, therefore, the Tartar took fourteen days to march from Booroojird to Desfoul, it must have been severe work for the Grecian army, from the vicinity of the latter place to reach Ispahan in forty, even had the two armies marched at the same rate. But the short cut for an army which did not choose to make the circuit, and could not force the Pasitigris, must have been across the hills between the modern Karoon and eastern branch of the Abzal, the very district where the ancient authors place the Cossæans. On referring to the map, it is evident that it can give us no assistance, for it is one blank. To return to Alexander, and his march from Ecbatana to Babylon.

" Then he invades the Cossæi, a warlike nation, bordering on the Uxii.† They are mountaineers possessed of strong fastnesses in their own country. If invaded by superior forces, they retire in a body to the summit of their mountains, or escape in scattered parties into places of security, and thus baffle the attack of their invaders; but when these retreat, they again resume their robberies, and contrive to procure a subsistence. But Alexander, although it was winter, drove them from their strongholds; for neither winter nor other natural obstacles could stay the career of Alexander. But as he was descending to Babylon ——"

We have seen above, that the Persian kings, when travelling from Ecbatana to Babylon, used to pur-

* Life of Timour, b. iii. cap. 22. † Arrian, b. vii. cap. 15.

chase a passage from the Cossæi; that these were, in the times of Alexander, immediately to the north-west of the Uxii, through whose territories he had marched between Shuster and Ispahan peaceably, as they had been formerly conquered by him. In therefore returning from Ecbatana to Babylon, the Cossæi must have occupied the mountains which commanded the direct road between the two capitals; a line, therefore, drawn between these two places cannot be far from the road by which the great king used to travel from one to the other. But a line drawn from Hillah to Ispahan will cross the very mountains between the Karoon and the Abzal, and indisputably fix the direction of the road travelled between their two capitals by the Persian monarchs, by Alexander in his descent from Ecbatana to Babylon, and by Antigonus when baffled in his attempts to force a passage across the Pasitigris. Such a line crosses the Abzal about thirty miles above Desfoul, and somewhere in that vicinity Antigonus must have forded the Coprates, and nine days' march along that line, in the direction of Ecbatana, must have brought him into the neighbourhood of the herds of horses, which Alexander had reached in seven days from Shuster; and of the truth of this we have a remarkable confirmation, in the account furnished by Diodorus of the success with which Antigonus remounted his army in that neighbourhood. Pithon, who had been sent to gather horses, soon "returned with two thousand horsemen, a thousand war-horses, with their equipments, and such a number of beasts of burden as would suffice to mount the whole army."

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On the death of Alexander the Great, Atropates, who was his satrap in North-Western Media, declared himself independent, maintained his authority, and left to his successors a kingdom called, after his own name, Atropatenè, the modern Adherbijan. His descendants wore the crown in Strabo's age. In a similar manner the satraps of Armenia, Artaxias and Zariadris, shook off the Syrian yoke after the defeat of Antiochus the Great by the Romans, and declared themselves independent sovereigns. The descendants of Zariadris were soon crushed by the superior power of the family of Artaxias, whose representatives became sole monarchs of Armenia. But when the Parthians had made themselves masters of the Persian empire, they claimed the Atropatenian and Armenian crowns as inalienably belonging to the king of kings. They gradually succeeded in dethroning the descend-

ants, first of Atropates and soon after of Artaxias, and in rendering Atropatenè and Armenia subject satrapies for the younger branches of the house of Arsaces; and as the successors of Atropates had appropriated to themselves the title of Kings of the Medes, it is by this name that the sovereigns of Atropatenè are designated by the later historians.

Vologeses, the Parthian king, says, that he had conferred the kingdom of Armenia on his younger brother, Tiridates, "which is the third station in the empire, for Pacorus before had received the sovereignty of the Medes."* Thus, when Tiridates, after the personal interview with Corbulo, and promising to visit Rome in order to obtain the investiture of Armenia from Nero, departed in order to take formal leave of his two brothers,† he found Pacorus "apud Medos," "Vologeses at Ecbatana." After performing this act of fraternal duty, he returned to Armenia and visited Rome. Pliny premises his account of these countries with the following words: "I will not deny that I am going to advance many things contrary to the assertions of ancient authors; but I have examined the whole subject with anxious care, availing myself of the information procured by the

* Tacit. Hist. book xv. cap. 2.

† The commentators, not having remarked the change which had confirmed the name Medi to the Atropatenians, have been sadly puzzled by finding one brother apud Medos, the other at Ecbatana, which they naturally concluded to be the capital of the Medes.

conquests of Domitius Corbulo in that country, and by the visits of suppliant kings, and sons of kings, as hostages, from the same quarter."* As this passage refers distinctly to the visit of Tiridates, and as the Parthian prince and his retinue had so lately performed the journey, I think we may safely admit the following passage, as given on the immediate authority of Tiridates or some of his retinue: "Gaza, the chief town of Atropatenè, is 450 miles from Artaxata, the same distance from Ecbatana of Media." When Pliny mentions any town as equidistant from two others, his meaning is, that the centre of a straight line connecting the two extreme towns is to be found at the site of the third town. If, therefore, we can discover the site of the middle and one of the extreme towns, the third will necessarily follow.

A passage in Strabo enables us, to a certain extent, to fix the position of the capital of Atropatenè. "The summer palace of the kings of Atropatenè, by name Gaza, is situated in a plain, and in a strong fort, Vera, besieged by Antony in his Parthian expedition. Its distance from the Araxes, that separates Armenia and Atropatenè, is 2400 stadia, as Dellius, Antony's friend, says, who commanded a division in the expedition against the Parthians, and wrote an account of it."† This campaign is described both by Plutarch‡ and Appian.§ The besieged city is called by them Phraata, and the queen and the children of the

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* Pliny, book vi. cap. 8.

† Strabo, book xi. cap. 13. ‡ Life of Antony. § Parthian Wars.

Median king are said to have taken refuge in it. Dion Cassius furnishes us with another name, Praaspa, probably a corruption of Phraata. We learn also from the last-named authors, that Antony's army retraced their march from Phraata to the Araxes in twenty-seven days. There were two great Armenian cities on the Araxes, Arxata and Artaxata; the one on the borders of Atropatenè, but Artaxata at the upper end of the Araxenian plain.* This plain had, according to Strabo, been once a lake, similar to Thessaly, but Jason had opened a passage for the waters in imitation of his native Tempè, and converted the lake into a fertile vale. On consulting the map, we see that the barrier was formed by Mount Ararat and a ridge of the Capan Hills, and the spot which in Strabo's age was called the Cataract is now the Gate of Sheroor. The Artaxata described by Strabo, as built upon a peninsula formed by the Araxes, was burnt and levelled with the ground by Corbulo. But as the Armenian was permitted to rebuild it, he may have done so on the spot marked in the map, on the authority of the Russian geographers, as the site of the ancient Artaxata, and which still retains the name of Ardashat. Far from that spot it could not be. Now the 450 miles of Pliny, reduced to English measure, give 420 miles, and, allowing one-fifth for the difference between the real and the map distance, the distance between Artaxata and the capital of Atropatenè may be estimated at 343 miles upon the map;

* Strabo, lib. xi. cap. 14.

which is the exact distance between Ardashat and Abhar or Avar, which has a strong similarity of sound to the Vera of Strabo.* And if the observations in the note be entitled to any weight, there can be little doubt, that Phraata is at this day represented by Sultaniah, and Vera by Abhar. Sultaniah is a city of the remotest antiquity, and situated in a plain, where the Persian monarch to this day spends part of his summer; and the name itself is equivalent to a royal residence.

But we have another account by which we can ascertain the position of the capital of Atropatenè. Its distance, 2400 stadia from the Araxes, will guide us somewhere into its immediate neighbourhood; these, reduced to English miles, and allowing the loss of one-fifth for the difference between the real and the map-distance, give 219 miles, which is the exact dis-

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* Here I cannot help proposing a different stopping to the following passage in Strabo: Βασίλειον δ' αὐτῶν θερινὸν μὲν ἐν πεδίῳ ἱδρυμένον Γάζα, καὶ ἐν φρουρίῳ ἰσχυρῷ Οὐῆρα. Which may be translated: "Their summer palace is Gaza, situated in a plain and in a strong fort called Vera." But if we put the stop after ἱδρυμένον we obtain a very different translation: "Their summer palace is situated in a plain, and their Gaza, or treasury, in a strong fort called Vera, which Antony besieged." In the same manner, lib. xv. cap. 3: Καὶ ἥγε γάζα καὶ οἱ θησαυροὶ καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα Ἐνταῦθα ἐν τοῖς Πέρσαις. Thus also, lib. xi. cap. 14: Οὐ πολὺ δ' ἀπωθέν ἐστι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ Ταφρανου καὶ Ἀρταβαζάδου γαζοφυλάκια, φρούρια ἰσχυρά, Βαβυρσά τι καὶ Ὀλαπη. This reading will reconcile, without the slightest violence, the different accounts of ancient historians, by making Phraata the chief town, and Vera the strong fort in its neighbourhood.

tance between Vera and the Araxes in the vicinity of Artabad. It may be added, that Abhar has always been a strong town and possessed of a citadel.

There are many interesting particulars recorded in Plutarch and Appian's account of Antony's retreat, (copied in all probability from Dellius's History of the Expedition, as they bear strong internal marks of having been penned by an eye-witness,) which may serve as guides to any person who in future may at leisure and in safety travel in Adherbijan. Antony did not return along the road through the vales and plains by which he had advanced, and which in all probability is the very same which may be seen on the map leading from Abhar through Sultaniah, Mianeh, and Tabriz, to the bridge over the Araxes, in the vicinity of Old Julfa; but, after raising the siege, quitted the main road and marched along the hills on the right. This he did for three reasons,—first, because the Parthians were superior in cavalry; secondly, because it was the shortest road to the Araxes; and, thirdly, because the line of march would be through villages hitherto unplundered. The army reached the Araxes in twenty-seven days, which shows that the average rate of each day's march did not exceed eight miles, map-distance. Nor is this extraordinary; for the troops were incessantly harassed by the Parthians during the greatest part of the retreat, and unable to make much progress.* Battles took place every day, so that they could not advance long with-

* Appian, v. 165.

out halting, wheeling, and charging the enemy: during the march they gained eighteen victories. The mountains were also rough, and presented natural obstacles. At the end of the third day they came to a river, the dykes of which had been broken down in order to overflow the road. Here the Parthians first began to molest the army. On the eighth day Flavius Gallus was killed, and the Romans suffered a great loss. On the ninth, the Parthians were defeated. For the next ten days there was continual fighting, and but little progress. On the twentieth, the Parthians apparently gave up the pursuit, and Antony had nearly fallen into their snare; but a friend from the enemy's camp warned him of his danger. "Do you see (said he to Alexander of Antioch, who had been sent to confer with him,) that lofty and unbroken range of hills in the distance? Behind those the whole Parthian army lies concealed, and awaits your arrival. For behind those hills there are extensive plains, over which they expect you, deceived as you have been by men to direct your march, and to leave the road among the mountains. In traversing the latter you will have to encounter thirst and toils, with which you have now become familiar; but let Antony rest assured, that the fate of Crassus awaits him, if he descend into the plains."

Antony, thus forewarned, made a desperate exertion that very night, crossed a range of hills not furnished with water, and before sunrise performed a march of 240 stadia, or 27 English miles. At the end of their march, they came to a river, the water of which, although cool and translucent, was brackish

and drastic. Many of the soldiers could not be prevented from drinking of it notwithstanding, and suffered severely in consequence. After a short repose, they resumed their march in the course of the day, continued it through the night, and with the dawn of the twenty-first arrived at another considerable river, the water of which was wholesome. This was the limit of the Parthian pursuit. In six days more they reached the Araxes, difficult to be passed on account of its depth and rapidity.

Having thus seen, on the authority of men who could not be mistaken, that the ancient capital of Atropatenè, or at least its gaza, was either at Abhar, or in its vicinity, and that the capital of Armenia was at the upper end of the Araxenian plain, and consequently at Ardashat, or in its vicinity; for the natural history of the plain, as recorded by Strabo, renders it impossible for us to make a serious mistake in fixing its site; and that the distance, recorded by Pliny, between Artaxata and Gaza exactly coincides with the distance between Ardashat and Abhar;—it remains that we should ascertain the extreme point of the line to the east, where, on the authority of Corbulo, of his officers, of Tiridates, and of his retinue, Ecbatana is to be placed at the distance of 450 Roman miles from Gaza or Abhar. These 450 miles, reduced as before, give 343 English miles. This distance, measured on the map, brings us to a point thirteen miles to the south-east of Ispahan, which is a mere trifle in computing the distances between three capitals so remote from each other, and on a subject where the mind loves to sacrifice

minute accuracy to the pleasure of impressing on the memory a remarkable coincidence. But should any one object that the line might have taken another direction, and not that of Ispahan, we are able to obviate that objection by another similar line described by Pliny, where Susa is made the middle point, and Seleuceia and Ecbatana the extreme points.* "Susa is 380 miles distant from Seleuceia of Babylonia, and the same distance across Mount Charbanus from Ecbatana of the Medes." We need not trouble ourselves here with the corrupted numbers of the manuscript of Pliny, for we have no need of them as a measure. As we know the position of Seleuceia and Susa, the assertion of the equidistance of Seleuceia and Ecbatana is all we want. On the map, the distance between Seleuceia and Shus is 220 miles; from Shus to Ispahan 210, or something less, a trifling discrepance, to which the observations above made are applicable. Thus both lines, proceeding from such remote points as Ardashat and Seleuceia, are found to terminate in the immediate vicinity of Ispahan, where and where alone must the ancient Ecbatana, as described by Pliny, be placed.

The next author I propose to examine is Isidore of Charax, a fragment of whose greater work we possess under the title of Parthicæ Mansiones. It briefly mentions the distance and the stations on the great royal road from Zeugma on the Euphrates through Seleuceia, Ecbatana, and Rhagæ, to the farthest ex-

* Book vi. cap. 27.

tremities of the east. It is consequently a document of great value, and will, I doubt not, be duly appreciated when opportunities are given to verify it in detail. In illustration of my subject, I shall confine myself at present solely to the examination of the itinerary between Seleuceia and Ecbatana, and, as it is of some importance to the argument, translate the whole of the passage:

" Hence (from Seleuceia) commences Apolloniatis, 33 schæni broad. It contains villages in which there are stations and a Greek city, Artemita, through the middle of which flows the river Silla. It is 15 schæni distant from Seleuceia. The present name of the city is Chalasar.

" Thence Chalonitis, 21 schæni broad. There are five villages in it, in which there are stations and a Greek city, Chala, 15 schæni distant from Apolloniatis. Five schæni distant from it is Mount Zagros, which forms the boundary between Chalonitis and the territory of the Medes.

" Thence Media, 22 schæni broad, their commencement, and the district Carina, in which there are five villages furnished with stations, but there is no city.

" Thence Cambadena, 31 schæni broad. In it there are five villages, furnished with stations, and a city, Baptana, situated on a hill, where there is a statue and pillar of Semiramis.

" Thence Upper Media, 38 schæni. Three schæni from its commencement is the city of Concobar, where there is a temple of Artemis. Three schæni farther on, Maziniaman, a custom-house; and four schæni

from it, Adragiananta, a palace of those at Batana (or among the Batani.) Twelve schæni farther, Apobatana, the metropolis of Media, the treasury, citadel, and the temple, where they perpetually sacrifice to Anaitis. Farther on still are three villages furnished with stations."

In order to procure a certain measure for the schænus of Isidore, I do not think it necessary to enter into an examination of its identity (although I have no doubt of the fact) with the royal parasang of ancient Persia, but shall content myself with ascertaining its value on the map, as deducible from the first part of the Itinerary.

Isidore states, that between Zeugma and Seleuceia there were 174 schæni. The position of Seleuceia is well ascertained; nor can there be much difficulty in fixing that of Zeugma, or bridge across the Euphrates. D'Anville places it at Romkala, nor, as far as the argument goes, would I be unwilling to suppose it at that spot; but, for reasons which will be detailed hereafter, I have every reason to know that the modern Bir occupies the site of this Zeugma. The distance between Romkala and Bir is only 10 miles, and therefore, in either case, cannot operate seriously on the calculation. On measuring the distance between the site of the ancient Seleuceia and Bir, the distance on the map, allowing but partially for the necessity of not departing far from the Euphrates, amounts to 565 miles, which, divided by the 174 schæni of Isidore, will give three miles and a quarter for the average length of every schænus. Nor, if we descend to particulars, will this definite measure on

the map be found wrong. The distance between Seleuceia and Neapolis, in the Itinerary, is nine schæni, which, measured between Seleuceia and Peirasabour on the Euphrates, amounts to 30 miles. In the same manner, between Neapolis and Aeipolis, according to the Itinerary, the distance was 34 schæni. The distance between Peirasabour and Hit, which the circumstance of the bitumen-wells identifies with Aeipolis, is, according to the map, 100 miles. Thus also, if we commence at the other extremity, we find that the distance recorded by Isidore as existing between the Zeugma and the mouth of the Chaboras is 54 schæni; on the map the distance between Bir and the Chaboras amounts to 175 miles. To these other coincidences might be added; but as the well-known site of Seleuceia, the extent of the isthmus between the Tigris and Euphrates, the bitumen-pits at Hit, and the well-ascertained course of the Chaboras, give us points which cannot be controverted, it is better to rest satisfied with them, as they furnish ample proof that, comparatively speaking, three miles and a quarter on the map answers almost to a nicety to the schænus of Isidore.

In order, therefore, to examine the above-quoted Itinerary, I shall take it for granted that a schænus of Isidore represents three miles and a quarter on the map; and I hope the proofs above advanced may pardon me for supposing, in the following examination of Isidore's route, that Ecbatana, or Apo-Batana, as written by him, is either the modern Ispahan itself, or in its immediate vicinity.

The total of the distance between Seleuceia and

Apobatana, amounts to 129 schæni, which, reduced according to the above rate, give 420 miles within a fraction. The distance between Seleuceia and Ispahan on the map is 424,—a coincidence for which nothing, except a very close approximation to the truth, can account. There may, however, in examining the Itinerary in detail, such discrepances be discovered which may in a considerable degree invalidate the general conclusion. This, therefore, must be obviated by a minute examination of the whole route.

In proceeding eastward from Seleuceia, the first province recorded by Isidore is Apolloniatis, and in it a Greek city, Artemita, on the Silla, at the distance of 15 schæni from Seleuceia. According to Strabo,* "Bordering on Susiana is a province of Babylonia, formerly called Sittacene, afterwards Apolloniatis." "And there is also Artemita, a considerable city, 500 stadia distant from Seleuceia, nearly direct east, as also is Sittacene, for it is a large and fertile province, placed between Babylon and Susiana; so that the whole line of road, leading from Babylon to Susa, passes through Sittacene."† On consulting the map, it will be seen that Artemita is put down in a direct line between Seleuceia and Hamadan, and that it would have been impossible to have travelled through it in going to Susa. It will also be observed, that an imaginary Silla has been invented to suit the description of Isidore. It is easier to detect errors in the geography of the country lying between Bag-

* Book xv. cap. 3. † Book xvi. cap. 1.

dat and Susa than to ascertain the truth; for I have not been able to find any traveller through this district on whose accuracy I could rely; indeed the very blank in the map proves, that every thing as yet remains to be discovered in that interesting country. The very course of the Gyndes is unknown; and I have strong reasons to believe that the positions of Mendeli, Nezareth, and the course of the Synnhè, are in no slight degree apocryphal, and rest principally on an ill-understood passage in Hanway's Nadir Shah. The attentions of future travellers through that country ought to be particularly called to the Itinerary of Isidore; and I feel no doubt that there still remain ample proofs of the existence of Artemita, at the distance of 48 miles, map-distance, due east from the site of Seleuceia, in some part of that vale which is watered by the river marked Synnhè in the map, (the Salis of Otter,) and which joins the Tigris not far from Jayazah.

The next province is Chalonitis, called so from its principal city Chala, situated 156 miles to the eastward of Seleuceia. There is some reason to think that this was originally a district of Apolloniatis, though latterly described as a separate province. Strabo merely mentions it as being "round Mount Zagros,"* while Pliny affirms, with his usual ignorance or carelessness, that Ctesiphon was in it. Ptolemy does not mention it at all under Assyria, but he inserts Chaltapetis under Susiana, as a district imme-

* Lib. xvi. cap. 1.

diately to the north of Cissia, of which Susa was the capital; and here the remains of Chala ought to be looked for. The distance on the map, measured as before from Seleuceia, will bring us to the banks of the Mendeli or supposed Gyndes. Both Artemita and Chala were independent Greek corporate cities, and, as late as the reign of Tiberius, preserved their original civilization, as may be inferred from the account given by Tacitus of the unsuccessful attempt of Tiridates to recover the throne of his ancestors. His account of Seleuceia ought to be read with attention, as it proves how great an influence the existence of such a powerful and enlightened city must have exerted on the character, language, and literature of the surrounding barbarians. Five schæni to the east of Chala, Isidore places Mount Zagros; and on consulting the map, the distance will be found to correspond with the position of the range of hills as laid down from modern observation.

The name of the next district, Media, cannot be easily accounted for. It may be supposed, that the kings of Atropatenè might, during the struggles between the Greeks and Parthians, have made themselves masters of the course of the waters which flow from the Matienian Hills, and have given their name of Medes, on which they prided themselves, to the inhabitants; or the inhabitants themselves might have retained their original name in opposition to the Greeks and Parthians. There is but one name recorded on this route, Carina, by which we are strongly reminded of the name Caræ, mentioned above in the account of Alexander's march from Susa to Ecbatana,

especially as Ptolemy places a city by name Carina in the neighbourhood. Strabo, in describing Elymais, joins to it Media and Mount Zagros.

Next to Media comes Cambadena, a name not noticed by modern geographers, but of which we trace many marks among the ancients. According to Isidorus, its commencement should be placed on the modern map to the east of the Caroon, in a direct line between Seleuceia and Ecbatana, and its eastern boundary in a line with the spot recorded as Semiram, and described above, in noticing Alexander's march from Susa to Ecbatana. Within these limits we find the Sambana or Cambana (for the Greek σ or κ were often confounded) of Diodorus, the "Mons Cambalidus" of Pliny.* Ptolemy also places Cabandena, a district of Susiana, along Persis; and as his Eldymæi or Elymæi occupied that part of Susiana which bordered on Persia, in the neighbourhood of the sea, Cabandena must have bordered on Persis inland, and must have been the same as Isidore's Cambadena. In Strabo we also read of a Gabiana, between Susiana and Elymais, which must have occupied the same situation as our Cambadena.† The city Baptana I hold to be the same as the celebrated works of Semiramis, mentioned by Diodorus, and would wish to identify the pillar and image of Isidorus with the description of the historian, and with the oriental Semiram, to which I have before twice alluded.

Twenty-two schæni more through Upper Media

* Book vi. cap. 27. † Lib. xvi. cap. 1.

brings us to Apo-Batana, "the treasury and metropolis of the Medes." Upper, with respect to the central parts of Asia, almost universally signifies more to the east. I have no information to communicate on the subject of the intervening stations between Cambadena and Ecbatana; but the words Mesobatene and Mesobaticæ, and Baptana or Batana, show that there were some circumstances connected with this word which yet require explanation. On the whole, every candid reader will allow, that, if Isidore's Itinerary does not (as far as it has been examined) terminate at Ispahan, there must be a greater number of accidental coincidences than ever before occurred to confirm an error. Even if it be denied that the case has not been demonstratively proved, I may yet venture to assert, that, if not proved, the demonstration has very nearly approached the truth.

I shall close the first part with the authority of Ammianus Marcellus, who, as he had served in Julian's Persian campaign, had ample means of acquiring information respecting the position of Ecbatana. He writes, that "Ecbatana was situated in the territory of the Syro-Medi, under Mount Jasonius;" and Ptolemy expressly asserts, that Syro-Media was the southern district of Media, running parallel with Persia. It thus appears, from an examination of the campaigns of Alexander; from the account furnished to Pliny by the Parthian prince and his retinue; from his assertion, that Susa was equidistant from Seleuceia and Ecbatana; from the Itinerary of Isidore; and from the authority of Ammianus Marcellinus,—that the an-

cient Ecbatana must have either occupied the site or have been in the immediate vicinity of Ispahan.

It now remains for me to attempt to account for the errors that have partially prevailed on this subject for the last two thousand years; and it grieves me to begin with Polybius, who, in a fragment of his 10th book, has the following passage: "Media is encircled with Grecian cities after the plan of Alexander, in order to guard it against the neighbouring barbarians, with the exception of Ecbatana. It is placed in the northern parts of Asia, but it lies near (or overhangs) those parts of Asia which are round the Mœotis and the Euxine." If this passage be not deplorably corrupted, it proves that Polybius must have been totally ignorant of the geography of Upper Asia; for on no supposed latitude of construction can it be allowed, that the Ecbatana even of Ptolemy was placed near or overhung the districts round the Mœotis and the Euxine. That it is either a corruption of the text or a mistake of the author is evident from the subsequent history compared with the map: "Arsaces expected that Antiochus would have reached Ecbatana, but that he would not dare, at the head of so large an army, to advance through the desert which bordered upon it, especially as the road would be through a country not furnished with water."* The king, however, crossed the desert, and arrived at Hecatompylus. On examining the map, it will be seen that there is a great desert between Is-

* Polybius, lib. x. cap. 28.

pahan and Hecatompylus, which does not exist between Hecatompylus and any place as high as the latitude even of Hamadan, much less of any more northern position. I feel the highest respect for the authority of Polybius in all cases where his own personal observation and examination could enable him to discover the truth; but he does not seem to have known much of the country to the east of the Tigris.

It may be doubted whether Strabo was acquainted with the true position or not. I rather believe he was not; for had he been certain, he would, as in all other similar occasions, have defined its position. From some passages it might be inferred he did know it, were there not others which render it very doubtful:

"Media, for the most part, is high and cold; such are the mountains to the east of Ecbatana, the mountains near Rhagæ and the Caspian Gates, and thence to Matiana and Armenia."*

This arrangement, commencing to the east, circling round to the north as far as the Caspian Gates, then trending westward to Matiana and Armenia, will suit Ispahan, and no other place. As to the existence of a range of hills running southwards from the Caspian Gates, skirting the east of the Great Desert, and joining that part of Mount Zagros which separates Media from Persia, it never was doubted, except by the shallow and blundering Pinkerton. The ancients uniformly assert it, and modern observations have in

* Strabo, book xi. cap. 13.

several points proved it. Thus Strabo: "Persia envelopes Carmania on the north, as it extends in this direction. It is joined by Parætacenè and Cossæa, which reach to the Caspian Gates. The Cossæans and Paratacenians are mountain-robbers."*

And again, "Great Media is bounded on the east (the Caspian Gates belong to it) by Parthia and the mountains of the Cossæi and Parætaceni robbers. These last border upon the Persians."† The Cossæi and Parætaceni here mentioned must not be confounded with the tribes of the same name on Mount Zagros, to the south-west of Great Media. The three passages, when compared, fix their situation on the range of mountains between the Caspian Gates and the north-east frontier of Persia.

But there are other passages in Strabo (for he copied different authors, and did not always mark their contradiction of each other,) which might lead us to look for Ecbatana among the mountains of Armenia or Matiana, or in their neighbourhood:

"Some Ænianes are said partly to occupy Vitia and partly the country above the Armenians, beyond Abus and Imbarus. These are portions of Taurus, of which Abus is near the road that leads to Ecbatana by the Temple of Abaris." The position of Abus is fixed by another passage in the same chapter: "Abus, from which both the Euphrates and the Araxes flow, one westward, the other eastward."‡ Again, "Polycleitus says that the Euphrates does not overflow its

* Book xvi. cap. 1. † Book xi. cap. 13. ‡ Lib. xi. cap. 14.

banks because it runs through great plains; that the mountains in general are two thousand stadia distant, and that the Cossæan Hills, which are scarcely a thousand stadia distant, are not very high, nor liable to great falls of snow, and consequently do not contribute any great body of waters from the melted snow; for, according to him, the highest mountains are in the northern parts above Ecbatana. In the southern parts they separate into sloping ridges, and become much lower. He says also that the Tigris intercepts the greatest part of the mountain-streams."*

These two passages clearly indicate that there must have been an Ecbatana somewhere in the vicinity of these mountains; for it is foolish to suppose that they can apply to any place so distant as Ispahan from the mountains in which the Tigris and Euphrates rise; and I believe that I shall be able to prove that there was an Ecbatana between the Tigris and the mountains to the east in the vicinity of the Caprus.

The geographers describe three cities of the name of Ecbatana,—the Median, the Persian, and the Syrian; and I may as well premise my inquiry with the observation, that I have reason to think that the name has some connexion with the fire-worship of the Persians and their adoration of the goddess Anaia, Anais, or Anaitis, for the name is written different ways. Thus, as above seen from the account of Polybius, the most striking object at Ecbatana of the Medes was the

* Strabo, lib. xvi. cap. 1.

Temple of Anaia; and Isidore, in a later age, describes his Apobatana as being memorable for being the capital of Media and for the Temple of Anaitis.

Pliny is the only author who mentions the Persian Ecbatana: "To the east of Persepolis the Magi hold the fort Pasargada, in which is the tomb of Cyrus, and Ecbatana, a town belonging to them, (*i. e.* the Magi,) and which was transferred by King Darius to the mountains."* "At Pasargada stands the temple of a goddess who has the affairs of war under her patronage, and may therefore be supposed to be Minerva. This temple the prince about to be consecrated must enter,"† &c.

As we read of no other goddess among the Medes and Persians but Anaitis, who is oftener called Diana by the Greeks than any other name, we may safely conclude her to have been the goddess worshipped at Pasargada as well as the same whom Plutarch, in a subsequent part of the same Life, calls Juno. As, from Plutarch's account, the king's life must have been completely in the hands of the Magi at his coronation, it is not unlikely that Darius Hystaspes, who had such cause to dread the vengeance of that body, might have compelled them and their Ecbatana to migrate to the hills for a space, though, when prejudices had subsided, they might have recovered their privileges and ancient seats, as described in the inauguration of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Of the prevalence of fire-worship at Pasargada we have an inter-

* Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 26.

† Plutarch, Life of Artaxerxes.—Wrangham's edition.

esting account in Appian's History of the Mithridatic Wars, which, although long, I shall here insert, as it may tend to call forth some interesting information, and induce future travellers more narrowly to observe the summits of remarkable hills in the East, where probably will be found what antiquarians call vitrified forts: "Mithridates offered a sacrifice after the manners of his ancestors to Jupiter Stratius, having heaped upon a lofty hill a loftier pile of wood. The kings themselves carry the first pieces of wood to the pile. They form another pile circular and lower. On the upper they place honey, milk, wine, and oil, with every species of incense; on the lower (or on the one in the plain) a banquet is spread for the refreshment of the spectators. They then set fire to the pile. The Persian kings have a similar sacrifice at Pasargada; and the blazing pile, on account of its magnitude, becomes visible to sailors at a distance of 1000 stadia; and they say that it is impossible to approach the spot for several days on account of the heat of the atmosphere. Thus Mithridates offered a sacrifice after the manner of his ancestors." May we not, from this description, conclude, that the fiery-furnace into which the Three Children were thrown was a mockery of the religious rites of the fire-worshippers, and that Nebuchadonosor, by casting living beings into it, wished to pollute the god of the Medes and Persians, and add insult to conquest? The choice to the gueber was terrible; either submission to the tyrant's order, or to become the instrument of contaminating the sacred emblem by a pollution which his soul abhorred.

Of the Syrian Ecbatana our notices are scanty. It

is mentioned by Herodotus as the place where Cambyses died on his return from Egypt to the East. Stephanus says it was a petty city of Syria, and Pliny fixes its position, by informing us that on Mount Carmel there was a town formerly called Ecbatana. Is it too much to suppose, that when Elijah challenged the priests of Baal to meet him on Mount Carmel, and there submit their conflicting pretensions to the judgment of Heaven, he did it because it was their own high place, their favourite spot for kindling the religious pile, and making its reflection in the heavens visible from the borders of Egypt to the city of Tyre? According to the Scriptures *their* altar was already made, they had nothing to prepare but the bullock, while it is expressly asserted that the prophet had to build his own altar. My own firm conviction is, that, as the prophet gave them every other advantage, he also combated them at the head-quarters of their superstition, and defeated them by an appeal to the very element of which they professed themselves the devoted worshippers.

Although the destruction of the priests was then complete, we need not wonder, from Jezebel's conduct, if in after-times they were regarded as martyrs, and if the utter destruction of the Jewish rites and ceremonies enabled the fires of Baal, on Mount Carmel, to burn brighter and brighter. Is it not difficult to conceive why Cambyses, summoned homewards as he was by a most formidable and successful conspiracy, should have turned aside and have visited the heights of Mount Carmel, except on the supposition that the bigoted monarch wished to purify himself

from the pollutions of the bestial gods of Egypt, by offering sacrifices, after the manner of his ancestors, at the Syrian Ecbatana? Of any temple on this spot I cannot gain any information; but the following passage from Buckingham's Travels in Palestine throws some light on the subject: "In our search after the city said formerly to have stood on Mount Carmel, and to have been called the Syrian Ecbatana, in contradistinction to the Median capital of that name, we recognized few vestiges, except a fine large column of grey granite lying near the monastery, and another that had been rolled down from the brow of the hill, on the east, of similar size and material. These we thought might have been portions of some large and magnificent building belonging to that city."* A passage also from Strabo proves the intimate connexion between the temples of Anaitis and fire-worship:

"There are also Pyræthea (fire-shrines) worthy of description. In the centre of them there is an altar, and on it much ashes, where the Magi guard the inextinguishable fire. Daily entering these shrines, they chant for nearly the space of an hour, holding a burden of rods before the fire. They wear on their heads tiaras, with caps, the lappets of which hang down on both sides so as to cover the lips and lower part of the cheeks. These are the established ceremonies in the temples of Anaitis and Omanus (Orosmanes?) There are also shrines of these, and the

* Vol. 1st, pages 112, 113.

image of Omanus makes regular processions. These things I have myself seen."*

Having thus partially cleared the way, I proceed to the more immediate proof of the existence of a fourth Ecbatana in the northern parts of Assyria. For this fact we have the direct evidence of two authors. Plutarch in his Life of Alexander states, "that, immediately after the battle of Gaugamela, as he traversed the province of Babylon, which immediately made its submission, he found in the district of Ecbatana a gulf of fire which streamed continually as from an inexhaustible source."† The other author is Ammianus Marcellinus, who had been himself in the immediate neighbourhood, and whose testimony is therefore doubly valuable: "In Adiabenè is the city Ninus, which formerly possessed the empire of Persia, still bearing the name of Ninus, the husband of Semiramis, formerly a most powerful monarch, and Ecbatana, and Arbela, and Gaugamela, where Alexander, after the various risks of war, crushed Darius in a successful battle."‡ Nor can it be objected, that Ammianus inserted Ecbatana in this district from ignorance of the great Ecbatana, the true position of which, as before observed, he knew and described. If, therefore, a place be allowed to the Persian Ecbatana, on the sole authority of Pliny, we surely ought to admit the Assyrian Ecbatana

* Lib. xv. cap. 3.

† Langhorn's Plutarch. I quote the translation, as I have not the original in my possession.

‡ Lib. xxiii.

into the maps of ancient Asia, on the united testimonies of Plutarch and Ammianus. For my own part, I feel that the question is decided by the following passage from Strabo, in which I find an exact coincidence of the circumstances shown to have existed in the other Ecbatana: "In the neighbourhood of Arbela is the city Demetrias, after that the fountain of Naphtha, and the flames and the temple of Anaia, and Sadracæ, the palace of Darius the son of Hystaspes."* The palace has disappeared, nor have I been able to find any traveller who has looked for either its ruins or those of the temple of Anaia; but the fire still streams from the ground as inexhaustible as ever, and I am particularly anxious to know whether, as in the east of Baku, on the south-western coast of the Caspian, any pilgrims frequent this natural and perpetual temple of those who worship fire, and which the destroyer of the Magi himself seems to have honoured with peculiar favour, and in all probability to have designated by the name of Ecbatana.

It is this Ecbatana which was mentioned by Eratosthenes as being in a line with Thapsacus and the Caspian Gates, and which has led so many geographers to look for it somewhere in that latitude. Eratosthenes, to whom scientific geography owes its origin, divided the known world by an imaginary line, drawn from the Pillars of Hercules to the western termination of Mount Taurus, and continued along

* Lib. xvi. cap. 1.

that range of hills to their termination in the Eastern Ocean. For the purpose of making his system more comprehensible, he divided the parts on each side of this imaginary line into parallelogramic figures, which he called σφραγῖδες. The first σφραγις was India, bounded by the Indus and the mountains on two sides, and by the ocean on the two others. The second σφραγις was Ariana, bounded by the Indus and the mountains on two sides; by the ocean on a third; and on the west by an imaginary line drawn from the Caspian Gates to the Carmanian Promontory. His third σφραγις was bounded by this imaginary line on the east; on the south by another imaginary line from the Carmanian Promontory to the Mouth of the Euphrates; on the west by the course of the Euphrates, as far as Thapsacus; on the north by a line drawn through Thapsacus to the Caspian Gates. "Eratosthenes says, that this is a rough sketch of his third side of ten thousand stadia to the Euphrates; but dividing it into parts, as he found the admeasurements recorded, he thus describes it, commencing at the Euphrates and the passage at Thapsacus. The distance between this passage and the place where Alexander crossed the Tigris, he writes, is 2400 stadia. Thence *the line drawn* to the places in succession through Gaugamela, the river Lycus, Arbela, and Ecbatana, (along which road Darius fled from Gaugamela,) completes the 10,000, exceeding it by only 300."*

In order to explain this passage, it is necessary to

* Lib. xi. cap. 13.

notice the mode in which Eratosthenes measured his geographical distances. Thus, when he wished to ascertain the length of his southern parallel between the Carmanian Promontory and the Mouth of the Euphrates, he took the measured distances between Babylon, through Susa and Persepolis to the Carmanian Promontory, as his guide.

In the same manner, when he wished to ascertain the length of the northern parallel, he specified the measured distance between Thapsacus and the Caspian Gates; first, as 2400 stadia between the passage of the Euphrates and the spot where Alexander crossed the Tigris, then the distance between that spot and the southern point, where the road branched direct to the Caspian Gates, along which Darius escaped into Media. For this purpose, he mentions expressly the passage of the Tigris, Gaugamela, the river Lycus, Arbela, and Ecbatana, during which direction the army had deviated from the straight line to the south; and for this deviation he allows 300 stadia. As he was proceeding from west to east, he names them in order, Gaugamela, Arbela, Ecbatana. But Ammianus Marcellinus, who had been marching up the Tigris from Ctesiphon to Dura, names them as they would naturally occur to him, Ecbatana, Arbela, Gaugamela.

The last ancient geographer whom we have to examine is Ptolemy, whose authority may be said to be neutral; for if his latitude corresponds better with Hamadan, yet his longitude reaches to Ispahan. Hamadan and Susa are under the same degree of longitude, but the Ecbatana of Ptolemy is four degrees to

the east of his Susa; and this is true also of Ispahan and Shus. But it may be objected, that Ptolemy was more accurate in his latitudes than in his longitudes; consequently that more weight must be attached to the former than to the latter. My answer is, that, as a general proposition, it is so; but in this case we have so many data for ascertaining his comparative longitudes that the objection must fall to the ground. Thus, Arbela, the Mouth of the Gorgus, and Ctesiphon are all placed under longitude 80, the Mouth of the Lycus longitude 79, Seleuceia longitude 79.3. These are all places well known, and answer to the line described by Ptolemy. Comparatively speaking, it matters not whether they are placed under the right longitude or not. Susa is put in longitude 84, and Ecbatana in 88; consequently the latter place must be looked for 8 degrees to the east of Arbela, the Mouth of the Gorgus, and Ctesiphon; and this will bring us to the line under which Ispahan is found.

Perhaps it may not be difficult to account even for his error in the latitude of Ecbatana. It is well known, that the later Greek writers erred greatly in assigning a greater breadth to the peninsula of Asia Minor than the truth demanded. Even in its narrowest part there is an excess of two degrees; and as they proceeded eastward the error seems to have proportionally increased. Thus, while, with respect to the mouths of the rivers of Susiana and of the Oroatis, Ptolemy's latitude is nearly exact; (and I have observed, in numberless cases, that his maritime are far more correct than his inland positions,)

he raises Persepolis, which is 15 minutes to the south of this parallel, 30, to 33.20, constituting an error of nearly 4 degrees. His latitude of Ecbatana is 37. 15, from which, if we subtract the latitude of Persepolis, the difference, according to Ptolemy, will be 3.55. But the real latitude of Ecbatana is 32.25; from which, if we subtract the real latitude of Persepolis, 29.45, the difference will be 2.40, leaving a difference of only 1.15; so that even according to Ptolemy's system, comparatively examined, Ispahan is nearer to his latitude than any other place where a great city could have existed. But we ought to consider, that his error was progressive, and increased as he proceeded northward. According to Ptolemy, there are 17 degrees between the Mouth of the Oroatis and Derbend, his Albaniæ Pylæ, two points which cannot be mistaken, while in reality there are only 12. As the whole error was therefore 5 degrees, the greatest part of which was caused by placing Persepolis nearly four degrees to the north of its true latitude, it is not to be wondered that the error had increased to five in the latitude of Ecbatana or Ispahan, which is placed by him in latitude 37.15.

A HISTORICAL AND CHOROGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF ISPAHAN.

I HAVE condensed this part of the proof, as not necessarily connected with the geographical question, into the following notices.

The first authentic information, after the days of Ammianus Marcellinus, is derived from the Arab historians, who write that

the great city of Ispahan was captured by their countrymen in A. D. 641. No change in the Persian dynasty had taken place between the invasion of Julian and the Arab conquest, nor had foreign enemies devastated Media. The great city Ecbatana must therefore have still existed. Nor is it wonderful if the word which the Greeks had written Ecbatan should by the Arabs be written Ispahan. When the Byzantine writers heard the Arab name, they wrote it Ispachan.

Ebn Haukal, in the tenth century, wrote thus:—"Ispahan is the most flourishing of all the cities in Cohestan, and possesses more riches than all the other places."—P. 169.

Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth, visited it,—"the metropolis of Media, an immense city, twelve miles in circuit."—P. 86.

In the fourteenth century it was taken by Timour, and seventy thousand heads of male adults of the Shiite sect were constructed into piles.

From these authorities, it is clear that the Arabs found Ispahan a city of the first importance; that it continued such for centuries under their dominion, long before the reign of the great Abbas, who is supposed by the modern Persians to have first brought the great river into the plain, and thus have enabled the city to become of importance.

The Persian geographers attribute its foundation to Taimurz, supposed to have lived nine hundred years before Christ, and believe a considerable portion of the captive Jews to have been settled there by Nebuchadonosor.

Mirkond writes, that there was a tradition that the ancient kings of Persia spent the summer at Ispahan. The climate is delightful, according to Chardin, who lived there for eleven years. The air, in the middle of summer, is cooled by the mountain-breezes from the south and east, and at no period are the natives oppressed by the heat.

The plain is one of the most fertile in the world, and not only supplies the wants of the capital, but exports large quantities of grain and fruits to other countries.

We may expect future travellers to examine whether any remains of the fortress of Dejoces be still visible, and to give a more minute account of the great work of Semiramis and her monuments among the mountains.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

GEOGRAPHY OF THE ANABASIS.

For attempting to illustrate the geography of the Anabasis of Xenophon, I may perhaps incur the charge of arrogance, as if it were in my power, after all the labour bestowed by learned men upon the subject, to throw any light on the question. The answer is ready, that as long as difficulties were known to exist, I had a right to try to solve them, and if I have succeeded the merit is greater; if I have failed, the disgrace is less. I therefore enter upon the subject without further preface, and shall endeavour to trace the route of the Cyreian Greeks, as described by Xenophon.

Cyrus set out from Sardes and arrived at Iconium by the following stages:—

The Mæander in -	3 days.
Colossæ, - -	1
Celænæ, - -	3
Peltæ, - -	2
Ceramôn Agora, -	2
Caÿstrian Plain, -	3
Thymbrium, -	2
Tyriæum, - - -	2
Iconium, - -	3
	21

I ought to premise, that I feel no respect for the parasangs of Xenophon, as I am convinced that they were only the oriental hours, varying in length according to the difficulties or facilities of the way. This is evident from the fact, that Xenophon never divides them, and that he calculates by them as regularly when traversing the pathless wilds of Armenia, as when marching along the royal road between Ephesus and the field of battle.

The distance on Arrowsmith's map between Sart and Konieh, two places the position of which is well ascertained, amount in a straight line to two hundred and forty miles. These divided by the number of days give eleven miles and one-third for the average rate of each day's march. An attempt to describe minutely the intermediate stages cannot prove very satisfactory, as few of the stations can be regarded as verified. Some observations may, however, be made under each head.

THE MÆANDER.

According to the map, the main stream of the Mæander, in the vicinity of Bambouk, is sixty-three miles from Sart, the representative of the ancient Sardes. This is an evident exaggeration, as there were only sixty-one Roman miles between Sardes and Tripolis, where the road to Laodiceia crossed the Mæander. Even with this diminution, it is difficult to believe, that the Cyreian Greeks performed, during the first three days, marches so disproportionate to their usual rate of advance. It is possible that Cyrus and his staff, after sending forwards the mass of his army, traversed this ground in three days.

But I do not look upon it by any means as certain, that the great Lydian road of Crœsus struck the Mæander at Tripolis. The line through this town seems to have been formed for the sake of communicating with the great cities of Hierapolis and Laodiceia, which were the creation of a much later age. Perhaps, therefore, were the passes of Mount Mesogis examined, a much shorter approach from Sart to the Mæander might be discovered. The very breadth of only two hundred feet, attributed by Xenophon to this fine stream, seems to me a proof that he crossed it higher up than at Tripolis, especially when we consider that his calculation of the breadth of rivers is invariably larger than modern observers allow.

COLOSSÆ.

If, however, the situation of Colossæ could be verified, there could be little difficulty in fixing the passage of the Mæander; but, unfortunately, this as yet is a desideratum. As Herodotus has given a description of this road, I introduce it, since there can be no doubt that Xerxes and the younger Cyrus marched, although in opposite directions, along the same road.* "Xerxes advanced from Celænæ, and after passing the Phrygian city Anava, and a lake from which salt is procured, arrived at Colossæ, a great city of Phrygia, where the river Lycus, entering a chasm in the earth, disappears; but, re-appearing at the distance of about five stadia, it also joins the Mæander. The army set out from Colossæ for the borders, between the Phrygians and Lydians, and arrived at the city Cydrara, where a fixed pillar, erected by Crœsus, indicated the borders by an inscription. As the road divided at the entrance from Phrygia into Lydia, and the left branch led into Caria, the right to Sardes; Xerxes took the latter, which made it necessary for him to cross the Mæander and pass by the city Callatebum, where men manufacture honey from the tamarisk and wheat. On his way he saw a plane-tree, and, on account of its great beauty, presented it with gold ornaments, and committed it

* Her. lib. vii. c. 26.

to the charge of one of his immortals. On the second day he arrived at the capital of the Lydians."

Polyænus informs us also, that when the Cyreian Ariæus was ordered by Artaxerxes to seize his old antagonist Tissaphernes, he inveigled him from Sardes to Colossæ, there made him prisoner, and conveyed him to Celænæ, where he was beheaded by Tithraustes.* To these notices, if we add, from Strabo, that Colossæ and other cities were situated round Apameia and Laodiceia, that the Colosseni (as he calls them) were not far from the Laodiceians, and from the Epistle of Saint Paul, that Colossæ was in the neighbourhood both of Laodiceia and Hierapolis, we have all the information furnished by antiquity that can aid us in fixing its position. Pliny adds a physical mark, which, if of no positive, may be of negative use: "There is a river at Colossæ which will convert bricks into stones."†

But perhaps it may be said, that in the subterraneous current and re-appearance of the Lycus, we have a certain guide for the discovery of the site of Colossæ. This may seriously be doubted; for in a country so repeatedly shaken by earthquakes, such phenomena might easily disappear in one and appear in another place. We have already seen the description of this phenomenon by Herodotus. I now quote Strabo's description, and they are the only two authors whose statements on the subject are entitled to any credit:‡ "There both the Caprus and the Lycus

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* Lib. vii. cap. 16. † Lib. xxxi. cap. 2. ‡ Lib. xi. cap. 8.

join the Mæander, whence the city is called Laodiceia on the Lycus. Above overhangs Mount Cadmus, whence flow the Lycus and another river bearing the same name as the hill. This latter, flowing underground and again re-appearing, has in general joined the united channel of the other streams. It thus shows the numerous perforations of the country, and its great liability to earthquakes. For Laodiceia is peculiarly liable to shocks, even more than the immediate vicinity." Thus Strabo ascribes to the Cadmus what Herodotus ascribed to the Lycus, nor can we be sure that the same phenomenon is described by both; for, according to Strabo's account, in the same chapter, "Many do not hesitate to regard the whole country between (the sources of) the Mæander and Lydia as part of the Catacecaumenè, (*i.e.* destroyed by fire in the war between the gods and the giants,) both on account of the number of the lakes and rivers and the numerous cavities in the earth. The briny lake also between Laodiceia and Apameia has a muddy and subterraneous outlet." And again, "Almost the whole of the country round the Mæander is liable to earthquakes, and perforated by subterraneous currents of fire and water even far inland: For this state of the country, commencing immediately with the plains, extends to the Charoneia; to the one at Hierapolis, to those at Acharaca in the territory of Nysa, and to the one in the vicinity of Magnesia and Myus. For the soil is loose and friable, full of salt lakes, and subject to combustion." Any partial sinking of a stream in a country like this ought by no means to be regarded as an indication of the site of Colossæ.

But I ascribe much of the obscurity in which this city is enveloped to the great earthquake, which, in the fourth consulship of Nero, overthrew Laodiceia, Hierapolis, and Colossæ.* The event is thus noticed by Tacitus: "Laodiceia, one of the illustrious cities of Asia, having been overthrown by an earthquake, recovered by its own resources without any aid from us." Colossæ does not appear to have been so fortunate, as its very name disappears for ages. Even Ptolemy, who in general retained the name long after the town had ceased to exist, does not mention Colossæ; but, instead, he presents us with a Tripolis, in the immediate vicinity of the site of Colossæ. Strabo, who described the whole of this region most minutely, takes no notice of this Tripolis. The fair inference, therefore, is, that it must have been founded between the age of Strabo and the time of Ptolemy. Pliny, who outlived the destruction of Colossæ for at least twelve years, notices the Tripolitani and Colossæ. To him, therefore, both were known. I would hence infer, that the inhabitants of Colossæ, who survived the earthquake, were incorporated with two other more obscure towns, and settled in the new Tripolis. The name of Colossæ, however, re-appears in the Synecdemus of Hierocles as an episcopal city in Phrygia Pacatiana; and in the second Nicene Council there occurs the signature of Dositheus, bishop of Chonæ, also Colossæ. After that the name of Colossæ merged

* Orosius, lib. vii. cap. 27.

in that of Chonæ, "a large and wealthy city," according to Nicetas, who was a native of it.* Am I justified, from all these circumstances, in concluding that Colossæ ceased to exist as a city before the time of Ptolemy; that it continued to remain as an ecclesiastical title for a bishop, whose real residence was at the rising town of Chonæ; that in Justinian's reign, when the Synecdemus was written, the name of Colossæ alone was used as the episcopal title; but that at the Nicene Council, A. D. 787, both names were used in the subscription; and that in course of time, as Chonæ increased in wealth and importance, the titular was lost in the real name?

Without some similar explanation, it is impossible to conceive, that so hallowed and venerable a name as Colossæ, and so endeared to Christians by apostolical reminiscences, should be exchanged for the ignoble and utterly unknown appellation Chonæ. Had the emperor interfered, and called it after his own name, or some great benefactor required it as a compliment, the case would be intelligible; but the voluntary renunciation of a cherished and sanctified name, for the purpose of adopting a less honourable one, in a peaceful and enlightened age, and during the unbroken succession of magistrates, both ecclesiastical and civil, is not only inconceivable but almost impossible. The discovery, therefore, of the site of Chonæ would not decide immediately the position of Co-

* Wesseling's Note on Colossæ in Hierocles, p. 666.

lossæ, as, although it may be legitimately inferred that one was not very distant from the other, we know nothing of their relative position and distance.

Were I employed in searching for the ruins of Colossæ, I would not make the angle of Laodiceia, but proceed along the shortest road between Sardes and the great eastern route through Ak-shehr, and, above all things, institute a diligent inquiry in the neighbourhood of "the large village or town Gunè" of Mr Arundel, as, both from name and situation, it has, in my opinion, very strong claims to be regarded as the real representative of the ecclesiastical Chonæ.

Colossæ, in the days of Strabo, was a wealthy city, consequently, like its neighbours, probably had its inscriptions. None, however, have hitherto been discovered. They remain either in some neglected spot, or deeply buried in the earth. I feel confident that they will soon be found, and serve to remove the cloud which has so long hung over this apostolical city.

CELÆNÆ.

The striking situation of this town was calculated to make a strong impression on its visitors; we have, consequently, the three following descriptions of it from competent eye-witnesses: "Xerxes arrived at Celænæ, where burst forth the sources of the river Mæander, and of another river not less than the Mæander. The latter, called Cataractes, rising in the very

market-place of Celænæ, joins the Mæander."* He then adds, that the skin of Marsyas was shown there: "Cyrus arrived at Celænæ, a city large and wealthy. There he had a palace and a large park full of wild beasts, for the purpose of hunting when he wished to exercise himself and horses. Through the middle of the park flows the river Mæander, the springs of which flow from the palace. It flows also through the city of Celænæ. The great king likewise has a strongly-fortified palace at Celænæ, at the fountains of the river Marsyas, under the Acropolis. This also flows through the city, and falls into the Mæander. The breadth of the Marsyas is twenty-five feet."† "Apameia is a great emporium of Asia, properly so called, second to none but Ephesus, which is the common receptacle of all merchandise from Italy and Greece. Apameia is situated at the mouth of the river Marsyas, which flows through the city, and has its sources from the citadel, (or above the city.) It rushes down to the suburbs with a violent and headlong course, and joins the Mæander, which previously receives the Orgas, another river flowing softly and gently through a plain. Thence the Mæander, now a large stream,"‡ &c.—"It rises from a hill called Celænæ, on which there was a city of the same name. Antiochus Soter removed the inhabitants to the present Apameia." Above there is a lake that produces reeds adapted for

* Her. lib. vii. cap. 26. † Xenophon, lib. i.
‡ Strabo, lib. xii. cap. 8.

making the mouth-pieces of pipes. They say, "that the sources both of the Mæander and Marsyas ooze subterraneously from this lake."

One might imagine, that a place thus particularly described by three men of great talents and scrupulous accuracy, might be easily recognized even after the lapse of ages, especially as its situation was so strongly marked by natural features which hardly admit of change. The site of Apameia is, however, still a subject of discussion, and the consequent uncertainty is extended to all the towns on both sides, and to the east of the upper course of the Mæander. As far as the geography of the Anabasis is concerned, I would with pleasure recognise Deenàre as the representative of Apameia, in accordance with the second thoughts of Mr Arundel, supported as they are by the great authority of Colonel Leake. But as I have my doubts, and the expression of them can do no harm, I may be permitted to explain them. In support of Mr Arundel's supposition, I find nothing adduced except the similarity of natural features between Deenàre and Apameia. But of the fallibility of this test there can be no greater proof than that, according to Mr Arundel's own admission, Pococke found these requisites in great perfection at Ishekli. And I may add, that I was struck with the startling similarity of the Omai of Mr Arundel to the ancient description of Apameia. The name also had its attraction.

But, independently of this, the inscriptions copied by Mr Arundel at Deenàre are very suspicious. It is difficult to account even for the inscription from the Apollonians on the Rhyndacus, without allowing

a kindred feeling between the two cities. There is also the inscription beginning with the word Straton, which seems, in the third line, to contain, although a mutilated, yet a strong likeness to Apollonia. The words Sebaste, No 16, and Sebast, No 17, in immediate connexion with "the senate and people," appear to be conclusive that Deenàre was once honoured with this august appellation.

Apameia preserved its name, and is enumerated among the episcopal cities in the Synecdemus of Hierocles. But there is no Apollonia. Instead of it there appears a Sebaste in the very suspicious neighbourhood of Eumeneia and Acmonia. Under the name Sebaste, in Phrygia Pacatiana, Wesseling remarks:—"Plato is recorded as the bishop of this Sebaste, in the council of Constantinople. To it, without a doubt, must belong the coin with the legend, 'Sebasteni.' The youthful figure distinguished with the Phrygian tiara and spear requires this."*

The "river of some size," which, according to Mr Arundel, joined his Mæander to the south of Ishekli, ought to be traced; for if it flows down through the Eumeneian plain of Mr Arundel, which opens due east from Ishekli, perhaps at its eastern termination the Apameian plain might be found, especially as Mr Kinnier intimates, that one of the sources of the Mæander was only seven miles distant from Ofium Cara-Hissar. Had I only to draw conclusions from the physical features of a place, I would at once say,

* Thes. Brit. p. 148.

that Ofium Cara-Hissar is the only spot which I would willingly allow to represent Apameia. The river tumbling down its streets, the impregnable citadel black with iron-ore, and the lazy course of the river at some distance from the rock, are all circumstances which strikingly coincide with the ancient Apameia. Then the spacious plain to the east, so well adapted for the park of an eastern despot, requiring at least some fifteen miles long by ten miles broad, with the palace at the source of the river, not a confined spot like the residence of a western monarch, but a loosely-built town, larger than the seraglio of Constantinople, but inferior perhaps to the Babylonian palace, are circumstances which powerfully influence my judgment. But though these are mere fancies, yet the real site of Celænæ, or Apameia, must have a citadel answering to the following description, in Arrian: "At Celænæ there was a citadel precipitous on every side, and a thousand Carians and a hundred Greek mercenaries garrisoned it from the satrap of Phrygia. These sent a deputation to Alexander, engaging to surrender the place, were it not relieved on a certain day named by them. Alexander agreed to this, as he thought it more advantageous than to lay siege to a citadel inaccessible on every side to an attack. He therefore leaves fifteen hundred men to observe Celænæ."* Apparently there is no place at Deenàre capable of inducing Alexander to grant to so small a garrison terms which he granted on no other occa-

* Lib. i. cap. 29.

sion, and which, at a very critical period, paralyzed a considerable part of his efficient troops. I therefore repeat, that the site of Apameia has not yet been definitively settled.

PELTÆ.

At Apameia, if not before, the Greeks joined the great road which led from Ephesus to the Euphrates, and which is thus described by Strabo: "But since one common road is trodden by all who travel eastward from Ephesus, I add this also; the distance through Magnesia, Tralles, Nysa, and Antiocheia, to Carura, the boundary of Caria, on the side of Phrygia, is seven hundred and forty stadia. Hence the country is Phrygia; and the distance from Carura to Holmi, the commencement of the Paroreian Phrygia, through Laodiceia, Apameia, Metropolis, and the Chelidoniæ, is nine hundred and twenty stadia. The distance from Holmi to Tyriæum, the boundary of the Paroreian Phrygia, on the side of Lycaonia, through Philomelium, is something less than five hundred. Thence through Laodiceia Catacecaumenè to Coropassus, there are eight hundred and forty stadia, all in Lycaonia."* One might imagine, that a person on the spot could easily identify the whole of this, especially as Strabo gives the most lucid description of Phrygia:—"Paroreian Phrygia contains a moun-

* Lib. xiv. cap. 2.

tainous ridge, stretching from east to west. On both sides of this ridge there lie a large plain, and cities near the mountain; on the northern side Philomelium, on the opposite side Antiocheia, near Pisidia; the one entirely in the plain, the other, which has received a Roman colony, on a hill."* But the want of knowing the exact position of Apameia confounds every attempt to discover the other positions between it and Iconium. It is far wiser, therefore, to suspend the inquiry as to these intervening stations until further information be procured.

After leaving Iconium, the army arrived at Tarsus by the following stages:—

Through Lycaonia, - -	5 days.
Arrived at Dana, in Cappadocia,	4
Crossed Mount Taurus, (say in,)	2
Tarsus, - - -	4

As Xenophon has omitted to state the time consumed between Dana and the foot of the pass, it is necessary to examine the subject.

In summing up the number of marches between Ephesus and the field of battle, he reckons ninety-three, while he records only eighty-six between Sardes and the same place. But it is not credible that the Greeks were seven days in traversing the ground between Ephesus and Sardes, especially as we find from Arrian, that Alexander, with his Macedo-

* Lib. xii. cap. 8.

nians, marched in four days from Sardes to Ephesus. There seems, consequently, an omission of two, if not of three days, in Xenophon's journal; and it will be easily seen, that this omission could only have taken place where I have above assigned it. The whole account is as follows :—" They remained at Dana three days." " Thence they endeavoured to enter Cilicia. The road was very narrow, admitting only one carriage at a time. It was very steep also, and not to be forced were any one to defend the pass. And Syennesis was said to be guarding the height, therefore Cyrus remained one day in the plain."—" Cyrus ascended the mountains as no opposition was offered, and took possession of the tents where the Cilicians usually kept guard. Thence he commenced his descent into the plain; and having descended, crossed the plain in four days, and arrived at Tarsus." From this account it is evident, that at least two days elapsed between the quitting of Dana and the arrival at the pass. These two marches, added to the recorded eighty-six, leave five days for the march between Ephesus and Tarsus.

DANA.

This place has been so generally regarded as the same as the Tyana of late authors, that it may appear presumptuous in me to differ from the received opinion. But the following reasons may induce the reader to suspend his decision, if not to acquiesce in my conclusions :—

The earliest recorded line of road between western and eastern Asia was the one leading from Sardes to Susa, as described by Herodotus. No doubt it coincided with the line described by Strabo, and quoted above. From Coropassus it proceeded to cross the Halys to Mazaca, or Cæsareia, and thence to Tomisa, on the Euphrates, in Sophenè. At present it will be sufficient to indicate this line. There will be a future opportunity of examining it more particularly. But as it was altogether necessary for Cyrus to communicate with his fleet, from which he expected no small reinforcements, he did not follow the main road, but turned to the right into Cilicia. Unfortunately we have no ancient itinerary of this latter road from Iconium to the Pass. A person accustomed to study the Peutingerian tables will, however, perceive, on consulting them, that it was impossible for the main road between Iconium and Tarsus to have passed through Tyana.

It was in later times, when Constantinople had become the point of junction between the western and eastern parts of the Roman empire, that the main eastern road passed from Constantinople through Nicomedeia, Ancyra, and Tyana, to Tarsus. The Jerusalem itinerary places Tyana on this road at the distance of fifty-one miles from the Pylæ; and Strabo speaks thus precisely:—"Mazaca is distant six days' journey from the Cilician Gates and the camp of Cyrus, through Tyana; and Tyana is midway, and three hundred stadia distant from Cu-

bistra."* In another place, in the same chapter, he writes, "Tyanitis lies below Mount Taurus, opposite the Cilician gates, through which is the most open and public entrance to all into Cilicia and Syria. The province is called Eusebeia, near Taurus. The greatest part of it is a fertile plain. Tyana itself is situated on a mound of Semiramis, which is well fortified; and not far are the smaller cities of Castabala and Cubistra, but still nearer the mountain." The Ketch Hissar of Mr Kinneir may be Cubistra, but Tyana must be looked for at least thirty-five miles to the north-west. The Mound of Semiramis, by which an immense artificial hillock is meant, will serve to identify it beyond the power of doubt. Zelia is also said by Strabo to have been built on a similar mound. Vopiscus, in his Life of Aurelian, obscurely alludes to it:—"The city (Tyana) was captured in a wonderful manner; for when Heraclamon had shown a place swelling with the natural appearance of a mound, where Aurelian could secretly ascend, the emperor climbed up, and, raising his purple cloak, showed himself at once to the citizens within and his own soldiers without. Thus the city was captured, as if the whole army of Aurelian had been admitted within the wall." The truth is, that Heraclamon admitted Aurelian into the citadel, which was constructed on the Mound of Semiramis, on which the city surrendered, and not a man was slain but the traitor. Were I asked for the situation of the Dana

* Str. lib. xii. cap. 2.

of Xenophon, I would look for it in the vicinity of the modern Eragli, on the road leading to the southern pass. The great mistake has been to suppose that there was only one main pass, while, on the contrary, Quintus Curtius graphically describes three:— "Cilicia is enclosed by a continuous ridge of rough and precipitous mountains, which, rising from the sea, form a curve or bend in the centre, and with the other extremities strike a different part of the shore. In this ridge, at its greatest distance inland from the sea, there are three rugged and very narrow passes, and the entrance into Cilicia must be through one of these."*

This is the real reason why no obstinate defence was ever practised at any of them; for Herodian's account of Aurelian's success is sheer nonsense, originating in the opinion of the sophist, that the gates were a wall across a ravine, consequently liable to be swept away (as stated) by the swelling of the brook at the bottom of it. The best modern account of the pass between Eragli and Tarsus is to be found in Captain Beaufort's Caramania: "At twenty hours to the northward of Tarsus there is a remarkable defile through a chain of inaccessible mountains. It admits only of eight horses abreast, and seems to have been cut through the rock to the depth of about forty feet, the marks of the tools being still visible on its sides."† I regard this pass as the Pylæ of Xeno-

* Lib. iii. cap. 4. † P. 274.

phon; and the distance of twenty hours agrees exactly with the four days spent by the Greeks in marching from the gates to Tarsus.

Mount Taurus in this part was long limitary between the Byzantine empire and the Saracens, during which period every pass became triply fortified. To show this, I shall here extract from Edrisi the latter part of the route from Amuria to Tarsus. The line is the same as the Roman road from Ancyra:—

	MILES.
From the river Tarfa to Moascar, (or the camp,)	12
Thence to Darb, (or the gate,) which Amroo el Kais has mentioned in his poems. The mountain extending from west to east separates Anatolia from the land of Gerson, and there are in it gates protected by forts and garrisons, who observe all who pass in and out, -	10
From Darb to Baridun, a citadel, - -	12
Thence to Hardabuf, a citadel, - - -	12
Thence to Al Giauzat, - - - -	12
Thence to Al Zara, - - - - -	12
Thence to Al Ollaic, - - - -	12
Thence to Tarsus, - - - - -	12

The Tarfa must be one of the southern branches of the Halys, Moascar, the same place which Alexander, in his advance from Ancyra to Tarsus, found under the name of the Camp of Cyrus: "Making for Cilicia at the head of all his forces, Alexander arrived at a place called the Camp of Cyrus, where,

during his campaign against Crœsus, he had occupied a stationary camp."* In attributing this ancient work to Cyrus the Elder, Curtius, although sufficiently abused by his commentators, was undoubtedly right; for the younger Cyrus, as far as we know, was never there, or, if he was, had no cause or time to form a *castra stativa*. Darb is the pass itself, with its fortifications. The other stations are unknown to me.

Mr Kinneir, who entered Cilicia by a third pass, which, however, soon joined the middle one, finds many difficulties in Xenophon's account, and looks upon it as totally inconsistent with the nature of the ground; and, no doubt, were his two suppositions allowed, and were Dana Tyana, and Tyana Ketch Hissar, much might be said; but, as he entered Cilicia by a very different pass from that traversed by Xenophon, his arguments do not apply.

I ought to add, that Mr Kinneir, in the same place,† makes a very strong case against Arrian for conducting Alexander through the gorges of Mount Taurus in one day into Cilicia. But Arrian wrote no such nonsense; he merely says,—"Alexander, having surmounted the pass, *began* to descend into Cilicia, (καταβαίνειν)"‡

Before I quit the northern side of Taurus, I shall insert a short sketch of Timour's progress in this country, although I fear that Petis de la Croix has both mutilated and corrupted Ali's narrative in

* Curtius, lib. iii. cap. 4. † P. 120. ‡ Lib. ii. cap. 4.

some parts. Timour reached Sivas, (Sebaste,) and found that the mountains between the sources of the Halys and those of the Iris had been so lined with Bajazet's troops, that there were no hopes of being able to force a way to Tocah; therefore he descended the northern Halys, and in six days reached Cæsareia. In four days more he arrived at Kir Shehr, during the first three of which he kept on the banks of the Halys, called Oulgdun Su. Here he halted until wells had been dug on the road between Kir Shehr and Angora. Timour arrived at Angora, and laid siege to it. Bajazet, on hearing of Timour's advance in this direction, quitted Tocah, and marched on Angora. Bajazet met him in the plains between Angora and the Halys—defeated and captured him. He then received the keys of Angora, thence marched through Sevri Hissar to Cutaya, thence to Altun Tash, thence to Boulak and Tanjouslic, (Denghislu). It will be seen by the attentive reader, that the narrative fails at the very moment it becomes important, and that, with the exception of the unknown Boulak, no station is mentioned between Altun Tash (one stage to the south of Cutaya) and Denghislu, in the immediate vicinity of the ancient Laodiceia, where, according to Ali, many soldiers died by drinking the petrifying waters. The return does not give us any more satisfactory information, while the march from Denghislu to Smyrna and back again is minutely recorded, which makes me conclude, that Petis de la Croix was particular only when he knew his ground. Timour marched from Denghislu to Ourlook Boor-

louk, called so in opposition to Ketsy Boorlouk in the same neighbourhood; thence to Egridur, on the shores of the fresh-water lake Falac Abad; thence to Acshehr, and subsequently to Cara Hissar, most likely along the same road which had been traversed by the consul Manlius in his march against the Gauls of Galatia.*

From Tarsus the army arrived on the banks of the Araxes, in Mesopotamia, by the following stages:—

Tarsus	
The river Sarus in -	2 days.
The Pyramus, - - -	1
Issus, - - - -	2
The gates of Cilicia and Syria,	1
Myriandrus, - - -	1
The river Chalus, - -	4
The Daradax, - - -	5
Thapsacus, - - -	3
The Araxes, - - -	9
	28

The distance between Tarsus and the Araxes or Khabour, (for it will be easy to prove their identity,) along a line drawn first from Tarsus to the upper end of the Sinus Issicus, thence to Scanderoon, and continued from that city to the confluence of the Khabour and Euphrates, is, on Arrowsmith's map, 336 miles. These divided by the 28 days give 12

* Livy, lib. xxxviii.

miles for the average rate of each day's march. There occur great difficulties in examining this route minutely, more attributable to the dogmatism of commentators, and to our ignorance of the actual state of the country between Tarsus and Scanderoon, than to the want of ancient authorities. Kinneir rode from the one city to the other; but the barbarians would not allow him to take the most interesting line, nor to examine and survey that along which he was permitted to travel. Had Captain Beaufort not been so disagreeably interrupted in his important survey, the comparative geography of the shores of the Gulf of Scanderoon would be as clear as it is on the southern coast of the rest of Asia Minor from the mouth of the Cydnus to the ancient Telmissus. Scholars cannot be too grateful to Captain Beaufort for removing the cloud which had so long covered that part of the shores of the Mediterranean. But the Gulf of Issus still remains in darkness; and even the course of the Sarus below Adana, and of the Pyramus below Messis, can only exercise our conjectural talents. Captain Beaufort makes it possible, if not probable, that these two rivers have repeatedly united and separated since history has recorded them. Of the Pinarus on which Issus was built we know nothing; and Issus itself is made to shift from one side of the bay to the other as best suits the theory of the would-be comparative geographer. Until more accurate information can be attained, it would, perhaps, be the wiser plan to postpone the discussion. I feel, however, that if faith can be put in the ancient geographers, it may be regarded as certain,—

First, That Issus was in Cilicia to the south-west of the Syrian and Cilician Gates, and of the upper end of the gulf.

Secondly, That the gates or passes were four in number:—

The first on the seashore between the mouths of the Pinarus and Pyramus, where the western offset of Mount Amanus terminates in the sea. These are called by Strabo the Amanian Gates.

The second, the Amanian Gates of Ptolemy, an inland defile in the main range of Mount Amanus, leading directly to the east and the Euphrates from the upper part of the plain of Issus.—Through this defile Darius led his forces to the capture of Issus.

The third, the Cilician and Syrian Gates, a defile in a second offset of Mount Amanus, terminating at the upper part of the gulf. This defile leads from the south-eastern part of the plain of Issus to that narrow belt of land between the gulf and the mountains on which Myriandrus was built.

The fourth, the Syrian or Assyrian Gates, a lower defile in the main ridge of Mount Amanus, leading from Myriandrus to the plain of the Orontes and its tributary streams.

Scylax of Caryanda, who was at least a cotemporary, if not more ancient than Xenophon, in his Periplus, enumerates the places on the gulf in the following order: "The river Pyramus and the city

Mallus, the navigation to which is up the river, the emporium Alana and its harbour Myriandrus belonging to the Phœnicians." In proceeding it will be seen that it is of great consequence to ascertain the actual position of Mallus, which must depend upon the course of the Pyramus. It would be highly satisfactory to examine whether its course has been changed or not,—a fact which actual inspection could easily discover. The commentators, and among them Salmasius, propose to read Adana instead of Alana, although Adana is an inland town to the west of Mallus, on the river Sarus. My own conviction is, that we ought to read Amana, and that it was the same as the Amanian Gates of Strabo, who places the more remarkable positions on this coast in the following order: "After the Cydnus the Pyramus flowing from Cataonia." "Near it, Mallus, situated on a height." "After Mallus, Ægæ, a small town with an anchoring-station; then the Amanian Gates, with an anchoring-station, where Mount Amanus, stretching down from Taurus, ends." "After Ægæ, Issus, a small town with an anchoring-station, and the Pinarus, where the battle between Alexander and Darius was fought, and whence the gulf has been named the Issic. On it are the city Rhosus, Myriandrus, the second city, and Alexandreia and Nicopolis, and Mopsuestia and the place called the Gates, the boundary between the Syrians and Cilicians." This last enumeration commences with Rhosus at the southern end, and ends with the Cilician and Syrian Gates, so as to connect the latter line with the former, which he had terminated at Issus. Mopsuestia

is out of its place; the only assignable reason for mentioning it here is, that the Pyramus, on which it was built, was in ancient times navigable up to its walls.

Ptolemy's description of the seacoast corresponds with that of Strabo: "In Cilicia, the Cydnus, the Sarus, the Pyramus, Mallus, the village Serrepolis, Ægæ, Issus. Inland,—the Armenian Gates," (the upper.) "In Syria, after Issus and the Cilician Gates, Alexandreia near Issus, Myriandrus, Rhosus. Inland, —The Syrian Gates," (that is, the lower gates in the main ridge of Mount Amanus.)

From a comparison of these two passages, the existence of the four gates is clearly demonstrated. Both authors mention the Cilician and Syrian Gates, Strabo mentions the maritime Amanian Gates, between Ægæ and Issus, and Ptolemy the two inland gates in the main ridge of Mount Amanus. The above observations, founded on the authority of the geographers, may tend to throw some light on the narratives of the historians.

Curtius, who is sometimes minute, and, when so, always accurate, as he, in such cases, without a doubt, transcribed the memoirs of Aristobulus or Ptolemy, gives the following particulars:

"Alexander having moved his camp, and thrown a bridge across the Pyramus, arrived at the city Mallus; in two days more he reached Castabalus. There he met Parmenio, who had been sent forward to examine the road through the defile which lay between them and Issus. This general, after having made himself master of the passes, left there a sufficient

guard, and then captured Issus, whence the barbarians had fled. He then advanced from Issus, dislodged the enemy, who occupied the interior heights, placed there strong bodies of troops, and having hurried back, (as was before said,) announced his own success to the king. From Castabalus Alexander advanced to Issus." "Darius led his forces into Cilicia." "By chance, on the very same night, Alexander arrived at the pass by which Cilicia is entered, and Darius at the spot called the Amanian Gates. Nor did the Persians doubt that the Macedonians had fled, as Issus, captured by them, had been left unguarded." A few invalids, taken in the town, were dismissed to announce to Alexander the presence of Darius. "Alexander could scarcely believe them, and sent scouts who ascertained the truth. He then ordered his men to prepare for battle, and marched back at twelve o'clock at night. "At break of day they arrived at the narrow pass which they had determined to occupy. The reconnoitring parties gave notice that Darius was thirty stadia distant." In this narration we have distinct allusions to the four passes; the first, between Mallus and Issus, the maritime Amanian Gates of Strabo, occupied by Parmenio previous to his advance upon Issus; the second, the defile between the plain of Issus and the Euphrates, along which Darius descended into the plain, being the Amanian Gates of Ptolemy; the third, the pass between Myriandrus and the plain of the Orontes, through which Alexander was preparing to enter Syria, being the Syrian Gates of Ptolemy; the fourth, the Syrian and Cilician Gates, between Myri-

andrus and Issus, which Alexander occupied at break of day on his return march.

Arrian's account is not so minute, consequently more unintelligible: "Before Alexander had quitted Mallus he was informed that Darius, with all his forces, was encamped at Sochi. This place is in the Assyrian territory, and distant two days' march from the Amanian Gates." "Next day Alexander advanced (from Mallus) to meet Darius and his Persians; and, after surmounting the pass, encamped on the second day at Myriandrus."

In this account there is an evident omission, on the part of Arrian, of the march between Mallus and Issus. His διὰ τρίτου can refer only to the march between Issus and Myriandrus, as Curtius expressly mentions, that Alexander was two days marching from Mallus to Castabalus, which was to the west of Issus. This is rendered manifest by the fact, that Arrian does not mention Issus at all, until it was captured, together with the helpless part of the Macedonian army:

"Darius crossed the mountain by the pass called the Amanian Gates, [the upper,] marched upon Issus, and thus placed himself in the rear of Alexander, who was ignorant of his motions. Next day he advanced to the Pinarus. When Alexander heard that Darius was in the rear, as he did not believe the account credible, he embarked some of the companion troops on board a thirty-oared galley, with orders to examine into the truth of the report. These sailed up in the galley, and as the sea here forms a curve or bay, they more easily discovered the Persians en-

camped, and made their report to Alexander that Darius was at hand, or in his hands."

Alexander ordered his troops to refresh themselves, sent a few of the cavalry and archers in the direction of the gates in order to reconnoitre the road, and, placing himself, as soon as it was night, at the head of his army, set out in order to occupy the gates a second time. About midnight he again made himself master of the pass, and after carefully stationing sentinels upon the rocks, allowed his army to repose for the remainder of the night. With the dawn he descended from the gates along the road, and as long as the pass was narrow led his army in column; but as the defile expanded, he regularly formed his column into line, by bringing up his heavy-armed battalions successively to occupy the vacant space between the main column and the mountain on the right and the sea on the left. During this time the cavalry were drawn up in the rear of the infantry; but when the open ground had been gained, Alexander drew up his forces in the following order of battle."

If we apply the narration of Xenophon to the present state of the country, we find that there are three points mentioned by him respecting which there can be no doubt,—these are Tarsus, the rivers Sarus (or Psarus, as originally written,) and the Pyramus. The city still retains its name; but the Sarus and the Pyramus are now known by the names of the Sihon and Gihon, names evidently bestowed upon them by the Turks in remembrance of the two great rivers of their aboriginal country. Cyrus and his army were three days in marching to the Pyramus, which Xenophon

describes as being a stadium in breadth. It was a large and rapid river, celebrated for the quantity of alluvial soil brought down by it from the Cataonian hills, so that there existed a prophecy in the time of Strabo,

> *Εσσεται ισσομενοις ὁτι Πυραμος αργυροδινης*
> *Ηιονα πρηχιων ἱερην ες κυπρον ἱκηται.*

In the middle ages it was navigable up as far as Mopsuestia, the modern Messis, where it was traversed by a splendid bridge. Golius, who crossed the bridge in the year 1627, says, "The cities on the opposite sides, called by one name Masista, were united by a stone bridge, and that a long one, for the Pyramus is compared by some to the Euphrates."* "The bridge still remains, which, when entire, consisted, if I am not mistaken, of twenty-four arches."

The map-distance between Tarsus and Messis, on the Gihon, is 40 miles, which was accomplished by the Greeks in three days, at the rate of 13 miles and a fraction each day. The actual road-distance between Tarsus and Messis is, according to Mr Kinneir, 47 miles. From which it may be inferred, that the actual progress of the Greek army on plain ground amounted to near 16 miles a day,—an enormous distance, when we take into consideration the number of the troops and the want of magazines.

But it is not reasonable to suppose, that the same progress could be made in the advance to Myriandrus, as there was a mountain to be crossed between the Pyramus and Issus, and as the famous gates

* Note in Alf. p. 287.

were to be surmounted between Issus and Myriandrus.

I may as well affirm at once that there does not seem to me any place between Messis and Scanderoon which can be mistaken for the Syrian and Cilician Gates, with the exception of the remarkable pass called Kara Cape, or Demir Cape. At eighteen miles' actual distance to the north of the modern Pias, Mr Kinneir "entered a narrow valley or defile;" soon after "the rocks on either side approached each other, and we passed under an arch of an old gateway, built of black granite, and called Kara Cape, or the Black Gate. This building was once, without doubt, much more extensive than it now is. It is evidently intended to defend the entrance into the defile, and I should guess it to have been constructed at a period antecedent to the conquests of the Turks. The pass expanded immediately when we had quitted the gate, and, after a gentle descent of about a mile, we entered a narrow belt, having the Gulf of Scanderoon close on our right hand."* Thus also Pococke: "To the north of Baias is the famous pass of Asia Minor."†

In truth, there is no mode of entering Cilicia from the narrow belt on which Myriandrus, Alexandreia, and Rhosus, were built, except by passing through the defile of Kara Cape. Some English gentlemen, whose authority is quoted by Pococke in the same page, "came to the end of the Bay of Scanderoon, and in thirty-five minutes more to the Iron-gate, which was probably the old gate of Cilicia, and is, I suppose, that which is described by another person as a ruined gateway.

* P. 135. † P. 175.

Here they saw on their left a long causeway, which they thought might be an ancient work."

It is absurd to suppose, that such a pass as this, where the road could be confined to one gateway, should have been unnoticed by ancient authors, or that they should have exaggerated any point between Demir Cape and Ras al Chanzir, where there is no defile, to the extraordinary dignity of the Cilician and Syrian Gates. If there be truth in history, this and no other must be the pass which Alexander reached at midnight, during his retrograde movement, and the clifts on which he stationed his sentinels were the πετραι ηλιβατοι of Xenophon, the rocks described by Mr Kinneir as approaching to each other. The walls mentioned by Xenophon as reaching down to the sea were in all probability continued across the ridge of hills which the pass intersected down to the shore. The distance could not have been great, as even the parallel road, along the southern side of the defile, came close to the sea within a mile of the narrowest part of the pass. The fatal mistake which has led astray all the more modern writers on the geography of this corner, is the supposition that Issus was to be found to the south-east of the northern part of the gulf; while, on the contrary, Strabo distinctly affirms that it was to the south-west, or rather, according to Strabo's idea of the coast, to the north-west. "Thus far (he is speaking of the harbour of Tarsus) the whole seacoast from the continent opposite Rhodes stretches from due west to due east. From this point it inclines south-east as far as Issus,

and thence at last it takes a bend to the south."* The site of Issus must therefore be sought to the south-east of Demir Cape, on the seashore, ten miles at least, map-distance, from the pass, as the Greeks were a whole day in marching from Issus to the gates, or perhaps through the gates. In the same manner, twenty miles, map-distance, must be allowed between Mallus and Issus, traversed by Alexander and his army in two days, and between that part of the Pyramus, crossed by the Greeks, and Issus; but we have no knowledge of this part of the bay. The site of Mallus, of the Mouth of the Pyramus, and of Issus itself, are equally unknown. In the mean time, it is sufficient to state, that the distance on the map between the imaginary site of Mallus and the gates is fifty miles, between Messis and the gates barely thirty. This latter line is, however, *per compendium*, and the road must have been lengthened considerably, by making an angle to the right in order to visit Issus.

When the internal resources of Cilicia, once powerful in fleets, and wealthy from commerce, had perished, and the splendid cities of Soli, Anchialus, Mallus, and Issus, had fallen into decay, the road along the seacoast, which led from Soli to Issus and the gates, ceased to be frequented, and even the transit-trade passed either by sea from the harbour of Tarsus to Alexandreia and Seleuceia, or by land through the gates in a straight line to Mopsuestia, Adana, and Tarsus.

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* Lib. xiv. cap. 5.

The natural consequence was, that Issus, which was utterly isolated by the new lines, ceased to exist, and was, in Pomponius Mela's time, not even "minima urbs." Its name does not occur in the itineraries, and although we see it lingering in the Peutingerian tables, it merely is a "nominis umbra," and no constituent part of the itinerary.

The next position, Myriandrus, is attended with considerable difficulty, principally from the generally received supposition, that it was to the south of the modern Scanderoon. The notices we have of the place in ancient authors are very scanty. Scylax, Xenophon, and Arrian describe it as being a Phœnician town on the Issic Gulf, and to the south of the gates. Pliny mentions it without any reference to its relative situation. Strabo, in enumerating the towns upwards from Rhosus, places it before Alexandreia; and Ptolemy, in enumerating them downwards, places it after Alexandreia. It must, however, be remarked, that Ptolemy gives it a higher latitude, so that his authority is neutralized. I cannot, therefore, allow the chance-order of the names in Strabo (especially as his Cilician chapter is evidently an unfinished mass of materials) to weigh against the historians and the natural topography of the country. As it does not occur in the itineraries, although it was on the main eastern road that connected the lesser with the greater Asia, and as it is not mentioned in any historian after the time of Alexander, it must have in all probability fallen into decay, and the geographers, as in other numer-

ous cases, retained the name, although the original existed not.

According to Xenophon, the Greeks marched in one day from the pass to Myriandrus; and, according to Arrian, Alexander and his army quitted Myriandrus as soon as it was night, and arrived at the pass at midnight. If, therefore, the pass was at Demir Cape, Myriandrus must be represented by the modern Pias, the Balæ of the Antonine, and the Bais of the Jerusalem itinerary. As Ptolemy places it one degree and ten minutes to the north of his Rhossic Promontory, the modern Ras al Chanzir, (a point not to be mistaken,) it is absurd to look for it in the vicinity of that promontory, where, however, it is placed on our modern maps. May it not, therefore, be supposed that we have in the modern Pias the remains of its original name before it was denominated Myriandrus by the Greeks, and that this original name, as in many other instances, triumphed over its more civilized appellation? As there is a harbour at Pias, and a town is known historically to have existed there for the last fourteen centuries, it is not to be supposed that the different geographers should have left unnoticed the existence of the harbour, or historians the founding of the town. The learned Wesseling, in supposing that it was a favourite bathing-place, and hence named Baiæ by the Romans, forgot that it was on a swampy unhealthy shore, the air of which is fatal to all strangers; so that even the foreign merchants, who, in Pococke's time, resided at Scanderoon for the sake of trade, never slept near the shore,

but retired in the evening to Baylan on Mount Amanus. The actual distance between the southern foot of the pass and Pias is sixteen miles, which both Cyrus and Alexander might have accomplished within the assigned time.

The modern appearance of Pias is thus described by Mr Kinneir:—"Pias stands on a gentle slope, at the south-east corner of a bay, and about a quarter of a mile from the sea, where a castle has been erected to defend a small harbour. It was, not many years ago, a wealthy and populous town."* If, however, I identify Myriandrus with Pias, where, it may be asked, were the Syrian or Assyrian Gates at which Alexander had arrived when he heard that Darius had reached Issus by the Amanian Pass? The map of Syria, published by Arrowsmith, and dedicated to Captain Corry, according to whose actual observations it was constructed, enables me to answer that satisfactorily. Immediately to the east of Pias there is an opening in Mount Amanus, marked by him as the upper Amanian Pass, and through which he supposes Darius to have marched upon Issus. The same pass is described by Pococke in the following words:—"On the south side of the town (Baias) there is a mountain-torrent, which comes from that opening, by which there is an ascent to the gates of Amanus. This is the middle-way of the three mentioned into Cilicia."† Perhaps this was the original communication between the Gulf and the back-country, and the line by which the Phœnicians introduced

* P. 137. † P. 174.

their merchandize into northern Syria and Mesopotamia. The whole plain in the neighbourhood of the Lake Agghi-denghis, for a considerable extent, seems to have been, in ancient times, an immense morass; and, even in modern days, the road between Aleppo and Scanderoon makes a considerable detour to the north, in order to avoid the swamps. It is recorded that the European factories offered to make causeways and build bridges at their own expense, for the purpose of facilitating the communication; but their offer was refused. It can hardly be thought possible, that Xenophon could have marched from the vicinity of Scanderoon, through the modern pass of Baylan, in the direction of Aleppo, without noticing the Aswad, the Yagra, and Aphreen, (all considerable streams, when they reach the plain,) and the intervening swamps and morasses. Nor is it to be supposed that the sagacious Phœnicians would have established an emporium to the south of Pias, when, by fixing it at that bay and harbour, they could have materially diminished their land-carriage in their communications with the interior.

The difficulty is not lessened by supposing, with Pococke, that the Lake of Antioch did not exist in ancient times; for the immense body of water which discharges itself from the lake into the Orontes, and which is supplied from the different streams that flow from Mount Amanus and the northern hills, must have always existed, and consequently have united in some large stream before their junction with the Orontes. As, however, neither such large river nor the lake is mentioned by ancient authors, I attribute it to the same cause, namely, that the centre of the

basin, whether it be called swamp or lake, was avoided, both on the south between Baylan and Antioch, and on the north between Pias and Aleppo.

Many authors have been led astray by the idea, that Alexandreia, on the Issic Gulf, was built by Alexander in commemoration of his victory. This supposition is not grounded on the authority of any ancient author; while, on the contrary, Stephanus Byzantius expressly states, that Issus itself was called Nicopolis by the Macedonians, in honour of the victory. Stephanus might easily have been led into this mistake, as Issus had ceased to exist in his days, and as he knew there was a Nicopolis in its immediate vicinity. Both Strabo and Ptolemy separate the two, Strabo placing Nicopolis generally on the gulf, and Ptolemy at the foot of Mount Taurus, at the upper end of the Issic plain, where, as recorded by Arrian, the chariot, robe, and bow of Darius were captured. The ruins of Nicopolis will probably be found in the plain to the west of the entrance into the upper Amanian defile; and between it and the sea, on the banks of the Pinarus, were built the altars of Alexander, mentioned both by Curtius and Cicero. Cicero, therefore, when encamped at these altars, could easily defend both the pass of Demir Cape and the upper Amanian Gates. His words in his famous despatch to Cato are,—"There are two passes from Syria into Cilicia, both of which, from their narrowness, can easily be defended with a few troops; nor can any thing be better protected than Cilicia on the Syrian side." This upper Amanian Pass became a main road in later times between Cilicia and the

great passage over the Euphrates, called Zeugma, of which I shall have to speak hereafter; and the Antonine Itinerary furnishes us with the following line:—

Nicopolis, ...	
Aliaria, M. P. . . .	13
Gerbedissus, . . .	15
Doliche, ...	20
Zeugma, ...	24

The other situations are known. Aliaria and Gerbedissus still lie concealed among the recesses of Mount Amanus. Whether the long-lost and ignoble Erana and Pindenissus of the Cilician campaign of Cicero lurk under these forms I pretend not to determine; but there can be little doubt that Darius and his army passed through them.

If I might venture on a conjecture on the period of the foundation of the Issic Alexandreia, I would refer it to Antigonus, surnamed the One-eyed. For we are informed by Diodorus Siculus,* that this great general founded Antigoneia on the Orontes, near the site on which Seleucus not long after built Antioch, intending it as an advantageous point whence to watch the upper Satrapies and Cœlosyria; but for a land-communication with his extensive dominions in Asia Minor, it was necessary to make a road from Antigoneia across Mount Amanus to the Issic Gulf; and the foundation of the Issic Alexandria, on the opposite side of the mountains, became the necessary re-

* Lib. xx. page. 48.

sult. Whether the maritime city was also called Antigoneia cannot now be ascertained, although there are some reasons for thinking that such was the case. Since Seleucus and Lysimachus, after the defeat at Issus, changed the name of Antigoneia Troas into that of Alexandreia Troas,* "thinking it reverential for the successors of Alexander, first to found cities after his name, subsequently after their own." But it is to be remarked, that this reverence did not continue after the death of Antigonus, as I am not aware that a single city subsequent to that event was honoured with Alexander's name. Of the nature and difficulties of the road leading from Antioch to Alexandreia we have the following description:—

"The road leading from Antioch, now called Theopolis, into Cilicia, lies through the suburbs called Platanôn. At no great distance from this city, the road from ancient times being confined by the mountains, which ran parallel with it to a very narrow pass, had been destroyed by the waters which had overflowed it for a series of ages, and rendered it dangerous to those who had to travel along it. When Justinian heard this, he wisely provided a remedy for the evil; for, at an incalculable expense, by cutting along the very high hills in that quarter, and by overcoming impossibilities, he formed a chariot-road, contrary to all expectations, across the precipices, both in the ascent and in the descent."†

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* Strabo, lib. xii. cap. 1.

† Procopius, De Ædificiis, lib. v. cap. 5.

This road through the Pass of Baylan, which, as Pococke describes it, is a work of immense labour, did not, in all probability, exist in the days of Cyrus and Alexander; for Abrocomas, in his retreat before the latter, did not retire into Syria, but along the sea-coast into Phœnicia. It was by this road that the Macedonian Amyntas and his Greek mercenaries reached the Phœnician Tripolis, after the battle of Issus. It was by the same road that Alexander marched into Phœnicia. They would have to cross the Orontes, at a place called by Diodorus "the river of the Carians,"—a name which is strangely corrupted in the present editions of Strabo into "ὕδατα ποταμοῦ." The Pierian Seleuceia was afterwards built on this spot.

It is worthy of remark, that Scylax of Caryanda calls the Orontes at its mouth, the river Thapsacus; and if Foster, in his geographical essay on the Anabasis, can be trusted, and *thipsak*, or *thapsak*, is the Hebrew word for a passage or ford, we have, in the etymology of the name, together with the circumstance of its being a great thoroughfare from Northern Syria to Phœnicia, a very natural excuse for the mistake of Scylax. But if Scylax was right, and the river at its mouth was absolutely called Thapsacus, it presents a far more intelligible line for the northern boundary of the empire of David, than a mere passage on the Euphrates, and one better calculated to be placed in opposition to Gaza.

The Greeks were seven days on their march between Tarsus and Myriandrus, supposed by me to be represented by the modern Pias. The intervening distance

on the map is 85 miles, which give 12 miles and a trifling fraction for the average rate of each day's march. On the sixth day they traversed the ground on which the battle of Issus was fought; on the seventh they marched from the foot of the pass along the narrow belt of land described by Kinneir to the neighbourhood of Pias. Mr Kinneir, who had come by the straight road from Messis to the gates, argues against the possibility of two large armies engaging in the upper end of that narrow tongue of land, and very triumphantly confutes the opinion of D'Anville and others, who (as Mr Kinneir thought) had fixed the locality of the battle on this spot; but no man accustomed to deduce his conclusions from the accounts of ancient authors ever thought of placing either Issus or the field of battle to the east of the pass. The battle must have been fought to the west of it; and it is clear from Mr Kinneir's own journal, that there was nothing between Demir Cape and Scanderoon which could even be tortured into the likeness of the Gates of Cilicia and Syria. In his own words, "there is no defile or pass between Ayass and Scanderoon that I could perceive or hear of."*

Mr Kinneir missed the real plain of Issus and the increased stream of the Pinarus; but had he come by the lower road along the seacoast from Mallus to the defile, I feel confident that, on the seashore, about four miles to the south-west of the defile, he would have found the very plain of which he was in

* Page 143.

search. It is needless to mention to persons acquainted with the operations of nature, and the immutable laws by which they are directed, that a defile like that of Demir or Cara Cape, in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea, must sooner or later communicate with it; and should any traveller in future find himself, in travelling westward, at Demir Cape, he has nothing to do but to follow the stream (probably the Kersus) that flows through the defile, and it will conduct him to the seashore and the Plain of Issus. Arrian's description infers first an ascent; then the descent gradually opening, until on the plain the left wing of Alexander's army was flanked by the sea, and the right by the mountain, is graphically pictured. In fact, nothing but the intervention of this second offset of Mount Amanus could have concealed the hostile armies from each other; nor, had both armies been to the south of Demir Cape, would the curve of the bay have assisted the Macedonian galley in making its discoveries.

For the commencement of the next march I shall therefore take it for granted, that Cyrus led his army across Mount Amanus along the pass which is immediately to the south-east of Pias.

Cyrus set out from Myriandrus, and in four days arrived at the river Chalus, and encamped in villages which formed part of the private demesnes of Parysatis. Commentators, led by etymology alone, have very gratuitously assumed, that these villages are represented by the modern Haleb or Aleppo. It may be affirmed, that the Chalus was the modern Kowaik; but we have no reason to suppose that these villages

were the origin of the city. On the contrary, it is very unlikely that the Vale of the Kowaik should have been without its cities in times far anterior to the expedition of Cyrus. In the Macedonian times this vale could boast of the flourishing cities of Berœa and Chalcis, which are thus described by the Nubian geographer under their oriental names: "Kennaserin is situated on the river Couaic, which is the river of Haleb, and, after flowing to Kennaserin, loses itself in a lake. From Kennaserin to Haleb, the walls of which are washed by the river Couaic, the distance is twenty miles."* And the fertility of this vale renders it as likely that there were rich villages in the upper part as that there were wealthy cities in the lower part. Rauwolf, in describing his journey down this vale from Aentab to Aleppo, says, "We broke up from Aentab, and having passed for several miles through rough and hilly ways, we came at length into a plain, delicate, and fruitful country, so fruitful of wine and corn, that on all my journey I have seen none like unto it." If we can credit Benjamin of Tudela, (and on such a point he is good authority,) Haleb was an ancient Syrian city of great renown, and not to be confounded with the villages of Parysatis. His words are, "Two days' journey from Hatsoa is Haleb, both the territory and city of which were anciently called Aram Zoba."† Golius, in his note on Aleppo, also observes, that the Jews of that city, even in his time, in all their international

* P. 196. † P. 55.

contracts and bonds, wrote its original name Aram Zoba.

In addition to these negative proofs, there are positive reasons for believing that the villages described by Xenophon could not have been on the site of the modern Aleppo. In the first place, the distance between Pias and Aleppo on the map amounts to sixty-four miles, which give sixteen miles, map-distance, for each day's march,—a rate far beyond the army's usual daily progress. In the second place, had they advanced in a straight line from Pias to Aleppo, they must have crossed the Oinoparas, the Arceuthus, the Ufrenus of Strabo, the Aswad, the Yagra, and the Aphreen of the maps; but Xenophon does not mention one of them; he, therefore, as may be legitimately inferred, did not cross them.

The best mode of approximating to the truth in such a case is to draw a straight line between Pias and Surieh, a position which I doubt not I shall be enabled to identify with the immediate vicinity of Thapsacus. Such a line intersects the Chalus or Couaic at a point fifty-two miles distant from Pias on Captain Cary's map of Syria. This distance gives thirteen miles for the average rate of daily advance, which is still too much, considering that the army had to cross Mount Amanus and some of the ridges that extend southward from Mount Taurus. Perhaps, on observation, it will be found, that the Chalus, in the upper part of its course, approaches nearer to Mount Amanus, than as laid down in the map. Its breadth at Aleppo is not equal to the Plethrum of Xenophon; but Pococke found its stream much wider in the upper

part of the vale, as, like all rivers that lose themselves in the desert, it diminishes gradually as it approaches its termination.

In five days after quitting the banks of the Chalus, the Greeks arrived at the river Daradax, where there were a palace and park of the Syrian king. There is no part of the march between Ephesus and Babylon more difficult of explanation than the real situation of the palace of the ruler of Syria. But should we suppose, with the map-makers, that a river joins the Euphrates at Beles or Balis, it may be the Daradax of Xenophon, and some plausible reasons be given for the name of the town. As Syennesis was the regular title of the Cilician, so perhaps Belesis was that of the Syrian king. The favourite royal residence might, in such a case, receive a royal appellation. It is certain that Balis is a town on the western bank of the Euphrates, which has kept its name for ages. In the Peutingerian tables and by the Byzantine historians it is called Barbalissus,—written by Ptolemy Barbarissus. If we strike off the classical addition *us*, we have Bar-Balis. My knowledge of the oriental languages does not enable me to assign the cause, but I observe that, in many instances, the passages of rivers in these countries are denoted by the word Bir or Bar; for the vowel is of no value in oriental etymology. Thus Bir-tha on the Tigris, and Bir-tha on the Euphrates, (the modern Bir) are distinguished for commanding passages across the rivers. Thus also Peirisabora, or the Bir of Sapor, was an important city that commanded the passage of the Euphrates immediately to

the west of the Seleuceia on the Tigris. It may, therefore, be inferred, that Bar-Balis was the passage opposite Balis, or of Belesis. The following extract from Golius contains almost every thing that we know concerning Balis: "We read in Abulfeda, that Balis was formerly a *forda*, or harbour of the Syrians, whence they sailed down the river to the districts of Assyria. Jacutus, however, informs us, that the Euphrates had gradually retired from the town of Balis in an eastern direction, so that in his time (he lived in the sixth century of the Hegira,) it was four Arabian miles (which are the same as the Italian) distant from the town. Abulfeda, in describing the borders both of Arabia and Syria, shows that Balis bordered on the desert both of Arabia and Syria, as it was placed on the northern extremity of each."* "Moreover, Balis, according to Abulfeda, is nearly midway between Racca and Haleb, being fifteen parasangs distant from the latter, thirteen from the former."

From this description, I fear, it would be folly to suppose that any perennial stream, of the size of the Daradax, could possibly have flowed from the sandy plain of the desert, or from the vicinity of the Valley of Salt. The probability therefore is, that Xenophon mistook an artificial canal which brought water from the Euphrates into the royal parks; and if this flowed from a reservoir or an elevation, it may account for the extraordinary size of the Daradax at

* Not in Alferg. p. 259.

its source. The representation of these canals in the Peutingerian Tables conducting water to a circular stream in the desert below Thiar, proves that the Euphrates was rendered useful in fertilizing even the most barren parts of the desert. But this is no better than conjecture, and inspection alone can decide the inquiry.

In three days after quitting the palace of Belesis, the army arrived at Thapsacus, on the Euphrates. This city was placed, as I hope to be able to prove, on the western bank of the river, nearly opposite to the modern Racca.

THAPSACUS.

In order to understand the proof, it will be necessary to examine the most noted passages of the Euphrates in this neighbourhood. These were three; and, as the name of Zeugma was common to them all, the mistakes committed by commentators and modern writers on ancient geography have been innumerable. The uppermost was at Samosata, thus described by Strabo:—"Commagenè is small, but has a strong city, Samosata, in which was the royal palace. The country is now a Roman province. The territory around Samosata is small but very fertile. *There at present* is the Zeugma of the Euphrates. Opposite to it is situated Seleuceia, a strong fortress in Mesopotamia, which was added by Pompey to Commagenè."* And again,—"The people named Myg-

* Book xvi. cap. 2.

dones by the Macedonians inhabit the district bordering on the Euphrates and on the Zeugma, *both the modern one in Commagenè* and the ancient one at Thapsacus."* In a third place he even specifies the distance between the two: "The distance between Thapsacus and Babylon, according to Eratosthenes, is 4800 stadia, and not less than 2000 between the Zeugma in Commagenè (where Mesopotamia commences) and Thapsacus."†

From these passages it is evident that the Zeugma of Strabo was at Samosata, and that opposite to it was a Seleuceia, thus mentioned by Polybius:—"While Antiochus was in the neighbourhood of Seleuceia, which is close to the Zeugma, there arrived Diognetus, the admiral from the Pontic Cappadocia, bringing with him Laodicè, the daughter of king Mithridates;"‡ and by Appian,—"Pompey gave to Antiochus the Commagenian, Seleuceia, and all the other places in Mesopotamia subdued by him."§

The second was between Hierapolis and Edessa, and to it the name of Zeugma was peculiarly appropriated by later writers, because on the Syrian side there arose a town of that name. This is the Zeugma of Ptolemy, described by him as being in Cyrrhestica, of Isidore of Charax, and of the Peutingerian Tables and of the Antonine Itineraries. Opposite to it in the Tables is placed Thiar, the modern Bir, to which Isidore gives its Macedonian name Apameia.

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* Lib. xvi. cap. 1. † Ib. ‡ Lib. vi. cap. 43.
§ Mithrid. War, p. 25.

He also places the Greek city Anthemusias 26 miles on the royal road leading eastward into Mesopotamia. In Strabo's time this passage had no name; but he thus describes it:—"Merchants travel through the desert of the Scenitæ from Syria to Seleuceia and Babylon. They cross the Euphrates opposite to Anthemusia, a place in Mesopotamia."* Pliny is more particular: "The Zeugma is seventy-two miles distant from Samosata. Seleucus, the founder of both towns, connected it by a bridge with Apameia, on the opposite side."†

From the difference between the Cyrrhestic and Commagenian Zeugma not having been observed, the ancient geography of this part of the Euphrates has been utterly confounded. Not only have particular stations been laid down wrong, but the distances furnished by Strabo have, to the destruction of the science, been calculated from the Cyrrhestic instead of from the Commagenian bridge.

The third was the ancient Zeugma of Strabo, the Thapsacus of Xenophon, Arrian, and Ptolemy. The last places it in Arabia, in longitude 73° 10′—latitude 35° 20′; and opposite to it in Mesopotamia he places Nicephorium in longitude 75° 5′,—latitude 35° 20′. This position is illustrated by a passage in the abridger of Strabo, who writes thus:—"Thapsacus is a city of Arabia, Nicephorium of Mesopotamia, 100 stadia distant from each other."‡ Pliny places

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* Lib. xvi. cap. 1. † Lib. v. cap. 24.
‡ Geo. Min. vol. ii. p. 209.

it immediately after Zeugma: "In Syria, the towns Europus and Thapsacus of old, now called Amphipolis."* Stephanus Byzantius, under Thapsacus, calls it a city of Syria; and, under Amphipolis, writes, "there is also a Syrian city of that name on the Euphrates. The Syrians call it Turmeda."

From these accounts we may safely draw two inferences,—the first, that if the position of Nicephorium be verified, that of Thapsacus must naturally follow; the second, that as two of these writers place Thapsacus in Arabia, and two in Syria, the probability is, that itwas a border-town with respect to both provinces. It may also be etymologically inferred, that as the Macedonian Amphipolis occupied both banks of the river Strymon, Thapsacus, on which they conferred the same name, had also a city on the opposite banks of the Euphrates to face it.

In connexion with the passages across the Euphrates, it will be necessary also to consider the direction of the main roads eastward from the Vale of the Chalus or Couaic; the line of roads diverging into Mesopotamia and Armenia from the bridge at Samosata need not be examined on the present occasion.

The capitals of the east, whether Babylon, Seleuceia, or Ctesiphon, could be reached from Northern Syria by two royal roads; the first leading from the Zeugma, latterly so called, to Nisibis, and the modern Mosul, thence either directly down the Tigris in Mesopotamia, or by a circuit through Assyria, by

* Lib. v. cap. 24.

Gaugamela and Arbela down to the banks of the Tigris, in the neighbourhood of the modern Bagdat, as will be shown more at large hereafter. The second leading from the Vale of the Chalus or Couaic through the desert by Balis to Thapsacus, and after crossing the river in that place down the left bank of the Euphrates to Babylon. There was also a cross-road leading from Carræ to the banks of the Euphrates, opposite to Thapsacus, which connected these two main lines, and tended to diversify, in a considerable degree, the advance of recorded expeditions from Syria against the great eastern capitals. But of these hereafter.

At present I proceed to the proof that Racca and Nicephorium were the same. The first author, as far as I am able to find, who mentions Nicephorium is Strabo, who describes the places around Carræ and Nicephorium as possessed by the Mesopotamian Mygdones.* When we compare this with the passage adduced above, respecting the vicinity of the same Mygdones, both to the Zeugma at Commagenè and that at Thapsacus, this passage, in connexion with the fact, that Nicephorium was on the Euphrates, connects it closely with Thapsacus. Pliny attributes its foundation to Alexander the Great: "Close to the Euphrates is Nicephorium, which Alexander ordered to be built on account of the advantages of the situation."† As it is well known that Alexander never visited any part of the eastern bank of the Eu-

* Lib. xvi. cap. 1. † C. xxvi.

phrates in this neighbourhood, except the spot immediately opposite to Thapsacus, this is another proof of the juxtaposition of one to the other.

Tacitus classes Nicephorium with Anthemusias, and attributes its origin to the Macedonians. But while these authorities enable us to approximate to the truth, and compel us to look for Nicephorium on the left bank of the Euphrates, in the region immediately adjacent to Carræ and Anthemusias, the invaluable itinerary of Isidore of Charax enables us precisely to fix its position.*

His route from the Zeugma, latterly so called, to Nicephorium, on the Euphrates, is as follows :—

	SCHŒNI.
After passing the Euphrates at Zeugma, the city Apameia.	
Then Dæara, distant from Apameia and the Euphrates, - - - - -	3
Then the Charax Sidi, but called by the Greeks Anthemusias, a city, - -	5
After it Coræa in Batanæ, a strong fort,	3
To the right of this, Mannuovrea Avirith, a strong fort, and a spring, whence the inhabitants irrigate their fields,	5
Then Commisibela, a strong fort, by which flows the river Bilecha, -	4
Then Alama, a strong fort and a royal station, - - - - -	3
Next Ischnæ, a Greek city, founded by	

* Geog. Min. N., p. 2.

	SCHŒNI.
the Macedonians, also situated on the Bilecha, - - - - -	3
Then Nicephorium, on the Euphrates, a Greek city, founded by king Alexander, - - - - -	5
	31

If, for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of 31 schœni, we avail ourselves of the result obtained before in calculating the distance between Seleuceia and Ecbatana, and value the schœnus of Isidore as equal to three miles and a quarter on the map, the distance between Zeugma and Nicephorium will amount to ninety-nine miles. The actual distance on Arrowsmith's map between Bir and Racca, along two lines,—the first from Bir to the source of the Bilecha; the second from this point down the stream to Racca, is one hundred and three miles.

It is well known, both from ancient and modern authors, that Mount Masius throws out an elevated ridge to the south from its western termination in the neighbourhood of Samosata, and that this ridge is broken by the Vale of the Bilecha, ending at Racca. The Euphrates between Bir and the latter place flows close to the foot of this hill, so that Rauwolf compares Bir, "near the high hill Taurus, to Tripolis near the Libanus, or Losanna on our Alps;"* and in sailing down repeatedly mentions the "ascent

* P. 92.

on the left," and the high hills. Travellers from Syria consequently, who intended to visit Babylonia, by following the course of the Euphrates, had to proceed across the desert by Balis to Racca. This was the course pursued by Benjamin of Tudela. "From this place, (Haleb,) having journeyed for two days, I arrived at Baalitz, formerly Pethoran, on the Euphrates."* "Half a day's journey thence is Kelagh Geber." "Dakia, formerly called Chalne, is one day's journey distant from the latter place." "In this place there is a synagogue, built by Esdra on his return from Babylon." "The ancient Haran is two days' journey from Dakia."

This itinerary will be illustrated by another, taken from the Nubian geographer: "Two roads lead from Haleb to Racca; one from Haleb to Nausia, thence to Chosciaf, then to Bales, thence to Dauser, finally to Racca."† The two first stages are unknown; Dauser, the Dakia of Benjamin, is, according to Golius, "a celebrated castle, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, between Balis and Racca. It is situated five parasangs below Balis, and was named after its founder; but afterwards it was called after its governor's name the castle of Giabar."‡ It seems that, in the time of Benjamin and the Nubian, the common passage was opposite the castle, although we may infer that it was not very safe, since Soliman Shah, the grandfather of that Osman, who gave the name of Osmanli to the royal Turkish family, was drowned

* P. 56. † P. 196. ‡ P. 259.

there in an attempt to cross the river at the head of his men.* But as the whole of this line of road was open to the desert, and exposed to the attacks of the wandering Arabs, we ought not to be surprised, that the other road, as more secure, and in all probability better furnished with water, should have been more frequented. This, although omitted by the Nubian, was, without a doubt, the main road indicated by Isidore. Of Dæara, the first position mentioned by him, nothing can be said; but the fort of Sidus and the ruins of Anthemusias might easily be discovered on the main road about twenty-six miles from Bir. Niebuhr, who galloped in one day from Edessa to Bir, says, "I also found on this road abundance of ruins, not only of villages, for in four or five places I found heaps of large hewn stones, the ruins, consequently, of citadels and other large buildings."† The third station, Coræa, in Batanæ, is the Batius of the tables, the Bathnæ of the itinerary, and the place where Julian after crossing the Euphrates dated one of his letters to Libanius. Instead of Κοραια I would propose to read Φρουριον ὁ from Procopius, who speaks of the Φρουριον ὁ ἐν Βαταναις as being repaired by Justinian at the same time as the neighbouring Carræ and Callinicus.‡ The fourth station with the inexplicable name must be placed somewhere near the western sources of the Scirtus, or even of the Bilecha. The fifth, sixth, and seventh cannot be mistaken, as they were at their respective distances on the banks of the

* Golius, p. 260. † Vol. ii. p. 332. ‡ Lib. ii. De Ædif. cap. 7.

Bilecha. The last station, Ischnæ, was eighteen miles above Nicephorium, which was on the banks of the Euphrates. But if we follow the Bilecha from a point 18 miles above its junction with the Euphrates, it will bring us to Racca, which must consequently be identified with Nicephorium. But should any caviller object that the road might not have followed the course of the Bilecha, but have diverged in a south-east direction, he will not be able, from the course of the two rivers, to bring Nicephorium five miles lower down than Racca, although even that would be at the expense of all the advantages of situation which recommended the site of Nicephorium to the attention of Alexander. If, however, Nicephorium be Racca, then Thapsacus must have existed on the Syrian bank opposite to it.

The specific facts (few as they are) recorded by Plutarch and Dion Cassius concerning the expeditions of Crassus into Mesopotamia, may be adduced in illustration of the geography of this neighbourhood. These authors were themselves miserably ignorant of the geography of the East, and their statements have no value, except inasmuch as they may be supposed to have transcribed them from more competent writers. Dion, whose meagre relation is the only account we have of the first campaign, says, that Crassus crossed the river, and, falling on Mesopotamia unexpectedly, ravaged a great part of it. Eilaces or Sillaces, the Satrap, having ventured to give him battle, with a few cavalry, in the neighbourhood of Ischnæ, was wounded and put to flight, and retired to announce the invasion to his king; "upon

which Crassus made himself master of some other forts, and especially of the Grecian cities, and among them Nicephorium."* From this account we have no reason to suppose that Crassus was out of the vale of the Bilecha, provided we allow that Carræ, the farthest place east occupied by him, was in that valley.

Next spring Crassus crossed the Euphrates "at Zeugma; thus the place has been called from the expedition of Alexander the Great, who crossed here." We must remember, that the Zeugma of Crassus must have been the same as the Zeugma of Strabo; consequently, as Crassus did not cross at the Zeugma of Samosata, he must have crossed at the Zeugma of Thapsacus, where also Alexander had crossed. If we can believe Plutarch, "he began his march along the side of the river as soon as he was in Mesopotamia,—a fact inconsistent with the supposition that he could have crossed at Bir, whence no road led down the river. Plutarch, after this, introduces much nonsense about the treason of an Arab chief, who seduced Crassus from the banks of the river into the sandy plains of Mesopotamia, and there exposed him to the arrows of the Persians. The truth is, that there were, as might be expected, discussions about the easiest mode of reaching Seleuceia; one party would prefer the course of the Euphrates, the other a march across Mesopotamia and down the left bank of the Tigris.

* Lib. xl.

If Crassus preferred the latter, he had good precedents for so doing. The Roman pride, after his defeat, was eager in seeking excuses for that mortifying event, and the charge of treason in the camp, that last resource of all defeated nations, was welcomed as a truth, and loudly proclaimed. Hence arose the tale of wandering in sandy wilds, without water, and without guides,—a tale utterly confuted by the very place on which the fatal defeat was sustained.

As the battle was fought one or at the utmost two days' march to the east or south-east of Carræ, one of Crassus' own garrisons, he must have arrived at that city by the royal road of Nicephorium and Ischnæ, without the possibility of either losing his way, or of being misled. The only mistake that he could have committed after arriving at Carræ, was by advancing on Resaina, the modern Ras-al-Ain, instead of proceeding along the direct road to Nisibis. That he did so is almost certain; for when young Crassus, who commanded the right wing, had been defeated, he was advised by two Greeks of Carræ to retire with them and to make his escape to Ischnæ, a city in the Roman interest, and at no great distance.* Had the advance been on Nisibis the road would have been as open to Carræ itself as to Ischnæ. Crassus and Cassius, who commanded the centre and left, fell back upon Carræ. Three hundred cavalry flying from the field of battle

* Plutarch.

reached this city at midnight, which proves that the engagement could not have been at a great distance from it.

The object of Crassus in advancing on Resaina was, in all probability, the plunder of that town and the numerous villages in the fertile vale of the Khabour. That he was not in the desert is proved by a fact recorded by Dion Cassius, that the great body of the Parthians was concealed by the unevenness of the ground, which was covered with trees. After remaining a day at Carræ, Crassus, in the ensuing night, attempted to cross the vale of the Bilecha, and gain the mountains to the west; but he was overtaken, forced to surrender, and there slain.

It ought to be added, that the younger Gordian defeated the Persians on the very same ground on which the Parthians had conquered Crassus.

Julian's march through the same country also furnishes important information. Ammianus thus describes it:—"After crossing the Euphrates on a bridge of boats, Julian arrived at Batanæ, a municipal town of Osdroene." "Thence, by a rapid march, he reached Carræ, an ancient town, distinguished for the disasters of the Crassi and the Roman army. From this city two royal roads leading into Persia branch out; the one on the left through Adiabenè and along the Tigris, the other on the right through Assyria and along the Euphrates." "Here he turned to the right, and arrived at Dauana, where the river Belias, that flows into the Euphrates, rises. When the soldiers had been there refreshed with food and rest, he arrived next day at Callinicum, a strong for-

tress, admirably adapted for commercial purposes." "Next day he set out along the high banks of the river,"* (Euphrates.)

The reader may wonder that Julian, descending from Carræ along the royal road, should have arrived on the banks of the Euphrates at Callinicum instead of Nicephorium, as described by Isidore. But it is certain, either that Callinicum and Nicephorium were the same place, or that one occupied the northern, the other the southern bank of the Bilecha, near its junction with the Euphrates. The first mention we find of Callinicum is in Eutropius, who writes "that Galerius first fought unsuccessfully against Narses between Callinicum and Carræ."† Valesius, in a note on the same passage in Ammianus, writes, "Libanius, in a letter to Aristænetus, says that Callinicum was a station on the Euphrates, so called because Callinicus the sophist was slain there; whence it appears that it was a recent name, for Callinicus the sophist, surnamed Sutorius, lived, according to Suidas, in the reign of Gallienus." Of its identity with the modern Racca there can be no doubt, as the Nubian geographer says, "Racca in Greek is called Balanicos."‡ For which misprint, Golius, in his note on Racca, reads Calonicos, from Abulfaragius.—There is no other place but Racca and its vicinity nearer than the mouth of the Khabour, which could be "admirably adapted for commercial purposes" on that whole line; but Racca, commanding the only

* Lib. xxiii. † Lib. ix. cap. 5. ‡ P. 197.

opening from Syria into Mesopotamia, must always have been a place of great importance. "Here (says Golius) Haroun Al Raschid built formerly a splendid citadel, where he was accustomed to dwell with great delight." "It was called Racca the White, or Illustrious, because there is another lower down, Racca the Dark, or Obscure, a large village, abounding with gardens, and distant one parasang. Rafika also, the partner and companion, as it were, of Racca, (some call it its suburbs,) on the same bank of the Euphrates, is said to have been built by Al Mamoon, after the plan of his Bagdat, scarcely one-third of a mile distant from Racca, so that they have the appearance of one city, although each is separately enclosed within its own walls." "The river Baleech takes its rise from the springs of the district of Harran, and, after being joined by the Giulab, the river of Harran flows into the Euphrates between Racca the Illustrious and Racca the Obscure."* As, therefore, we find three places, in modern times, at the mouth of the Bilecha, we need not wonder that two existed in ancient times under the names of Callinicum and Nicephorium.

Having thus established the position of Nicephorium at the mouth of the Bilecha, it is necessary, in the next place, to examine the notices recorded by ancient authors of its opposite neighbour Thapsacus. According to Strabo, Eratosthenes estimated the distance between Babylon and the Zeugma at 4800 stadia, between

* P. 252.

Thapsacus and the Zeugma at 2000. We have before seen, that the Zeugma of Strabo was the bridge across the Euphrates at Samosata; but here he repeats his definition in order as it were to avoid all ambiguity: "The distance between the Zeugma in Commagenè (where Mesopotamia commences) and Thapsacus is 2000 stadia."*

The stadium of Eratosthenes, it must be remembered, was that named by D'Anville, the Aristotelian, valued by him at something more than fifteen to a mile. It is used by Nearchus and the original historians of Alexander, and adopted from them by Arrian. The actual distance on Arrowsmith's map between Samosata and Babylon is 535 miles, which give nearly 13 stadia of Eratosthenes to every English mile. As the road from Thapsacus to Babylon must have, in the desert, followed the course of the river in its various bendings, we can draw no certain conclusions until that part of the stream of the Euphrates be better mapped than it is at present; but, as it flows in a comparatively straight line from Samosata to Surieh, (for I regard the Elbow at Balis as infinitely exaggerated,) this part may be taken as a fair specimen of the whole. The intervening distance on the map is 140 miles; the 2000 stadia of Eratosthenes, divided by 15, without including the fraction, give 135 miles, to which, if the fraction be added, we shall find Thapsacus at the very spot indicated by Eratosthenes.

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* Lib. xvi. cap. 1.

Eratosthenes, after mentioning the distance between Babylon and the Euphrates as amounting to 4800 stadia, adds along the Euphrates as a necessary definition, that no one might understand it as the straight line and the measure of the distance between the two parallels.*

Ptolemy, in assigning Thapsacus to Syria, places it at the same time on the border; for he says that the eastern limit of Syria is an imaginary line drawn through the desert to the passage of the Euphrates at Thapsacus. To the west of this line on the Euphrates he places Alamata, Sura, and Alalis in Palmyrenè, and Athis and Barbalissus in Chalcidicè. Sura, under the name of Flavia Firma Sura, was a spot of great importance in the later periods of the Roman empire, for, as may be seen in the Peutingerian Tables, "near it were the mart with the barbarians and the limits of the Syrian army." In the Tables there is also a route, as might be expected, leading from the commercial Palmyra to this mart, through Haræ, Ocuba, Cholle, Risapa, and the same Sura. And as this Risapa is, without a doubt, the Resapha of Ptolemy, described by him as the most northern of the inland Palmyrenian towns, and which still retains its name and place, we may be as sure that the modern Surieh still represents the ancient Sura. The large plain to the south and east of Surieh is called by Procopius the Campus Barbaricus, and is celebrated by the Arabian historians under the name of

* Strabo, lib. ii. book 1.

the Plain of Siff or Siffin, as the field of battle on which, as on debateable ground, the Irakians of Ali and the Syrians of Moawizah combated for the space of 110 days.

In addition to the proofs adduced of the identity of Thapsacus with the passage of the Euphrates at Racca, there are other reasons which ought to have prevented geographers from being guilty of the absurdity of removing it to Ul-Der. It is foolish to suppose that armies would have traversed the barren desert of Syria and Arabia to the latitude of Ul-Der, when they could cross at Racca, and march down to Karkisiah, through a comparatively fertile district. It would have been absurd in Arrian to talk of Darius, after his defeat at Issus, hurrying, by crossing at Thapsacus, to place the Euphrates between him and Alexander. But if it be asked, why did not Darius cross at the Zeugma, latterly so called? the answer is, that in all probability there was at that time no road over the high and rugged mountains between Bir and Edessa, of which Rauwolf thus speaks: "We went on in our travels next day, and came into the high and rough mountains, where we spent also the next day with great trouble and hardship, until we came again to the great river Euphrates, into the town Bir." I look upon the road from Bir to Edessa as principally Roman, and subsequent to the permanent acquisition of that part of Mesopotamia by the Roman emperors. When the road was once made, the passage at Bir instantly became the great Zeugma, and completely superseded the one opposite to Racca. But, most absurd of all,

had Thapsacus been in the neighbourhood of Ul-Der, would it have been for Alexander, who knew the country, to have ordered the vessels, building for him in the Syrian and Phænician harbours, to be conveyed by land from the seacoast to Thapsacus, when, by launching them even at Surieh, he could have saved near one hundred miles' land-carriage across the desert.

I fear that my readers will feel as wearied of the names of Thapsacus and Racca as I feel myself; but they must remember, that, had the proof been very direct and easy, it would not have so long remained unknown. In mercy to the reader, however, I have thrown some further disquisitions on the subject into the form of a note, which he who wishes to become a comparative geographer will do well to peruse. The more general reader will be satisfied with the result, that, for all practical purposes, I regard the Surieh of Arrowsmith's map as an adequate representative of the ancient Thapsacus.

The distance between Tarsus and Surieh on the map, divided by the 19 days spent in marching from Tarsus, give 13 miles for the average rate of each day's march. The reader will easily see, on consulting the map, that it was not likely that the army should have been five days in marching from the upper part of the vale of Chalus to Balis, and only three in reaching Surieh from the latter place. But the position of Balis on the map is decidedly wrong; and I find, on consulting the Euphrates and Tigris of D'Anville,* that its longitude has only been

* P. 20.

guessed at. Abulfeda, who knew the country well, says, as before quoted, that Balis was 15 parasangs from Aleppo, and 13 from Racca. As we have identified Nicephorium with Racca, and as Thapsacus was 100 stadia to the west of Nicephorium, we must subtract at least three parasangs from the Racca distance of Abulfeda, which will bring Surieh within ten parasangs of Balis; consequently the Euphrates does not make that extraordinary bend to the west which is laid down opposite to Balis. The Nubian's account of its course makes no allowance for any western direction: "From Samosat it flows southward with an inclination to the east." "Thence to the bridge Sobcha, then to Rafica and Racca, which lies on the eastern bank."* But actual observation alone can settle this point.

THE KHABOUR, CHABORAS, OR ARAXES.

The Greeks crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, and in nine days reached the bank of the Araxes, where they found villages abounding with corn and wine. Here they remained three days, and furnished themselves with provisions. It is unquestionable that this river is the modern Khabour, the Aborras and Chaborras of the later Greeks. I was pleased to find in the Nubian geographer traces of the name by which Xenophon designated it: "Below Kerkisiah (says he) the river Harnas, called the Chabur, empties itself into the Euphrates."* If we read Ha-

* Page 199.

ras for Harnas, we have the very name which the Greeks in more than one instance transformed into Araxes. The distance in a straight line between Surieh and the mouth of the Khabour is ninety-six miles, which give something more than ten miles and a half for each day's march. If we were to follow the bends of the river, the average rate would be considerably increased; but I have no faith in the map.

Cyrus crossed the Khabour, and arrived on the field of battle, 360 stadia from Babylon, by the following stages:—

Corsotè in - -	5 days
Pylæ, - -	13
The field of battle, -	5
	24

The 360 stadia of Xenophon correspond exactly with 40 miles English measure; and if we allow for the difference between the actual and the map distance one-tenth, which on so level a flat is quite sufficient, the battle was fought in the neighbourhood of the spot called Kan on the map, and on the banks of the Euphrates, 36 miles to the north-west of Hillah. The map distance between this spot and the mouth of the Khabour, in a straight line, amounts to 276 miles, which, divided by the 24 days, give 11½ miles for their daily progress. There are but few materials for illustrating this route.

MARCH DOWN THE EUPHRATES.

We have ample proofs from the writings of Xenophon, Herodotus, and Strabo, that the scarcity of towns under the Persian dynasty was remarkable in Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Hence it is that Xenophon mentions only three, Thapsacus, Corsotè, and Charmanda, between Myriandrus and the field of battle. Corsotè is described as a city in the desert, at the termination of the fifth day's march from the banks of the Khabour. It is to this district that Xenophon applies his interesting description of the Mesopotamian desert, the truth of which might easily be proved by the testimony of many modern travellers. But I shall content myself with quoting the excellent Rauwolf, who, plagued by no theories of his own, has written what he saw. After passing the mouth of the Khabour, called by him Chabu, he thus proceeds :—"Our navigation went on for several days very well, but chiefly through sandy deserts, which were as large as any we had before passed; for they extended sometimes so far that we could not see the end of them, and they were so dry that you could see neither plough-land nor meadow, tree nor bush, leaf nor grass, nor path to go in; wherefore these may well be called deserts, which are also called the sandy seas." Cyrus, after quitting Corsotè, marched along the Euphrates through the desert; and in 13 days reached a spot called by Xenophon Pylæ, and the field of battle in five more.

THE COURSE OF THE EUPHRATES BETWEEN THAPSACUS AND THE FIELD OF BATTLE.

Scanty as the information communicated by Xenophon respecting this long line of road has been, it may be interesting, as connected with the immediate object of our investigation, to examine the accounts, transmitted to us by ancient authors, of the more remarkable places on each side of the Euphrates; and for this purpose I shall principally rely on the authorities of Isidore of Charax, Ptolemy, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Zosimus, who all have left on record detailed, although not equally lucid, accounts of the principal objects. The road down the eastern bank, between the mouths of the Bilecha and the Khabour, is thus described by Isidore:—

	SCHŒNI.
"From Nicephorium, Galabatha, close to the river, a desert village, - -	5
Then Chubane, a village, - -	1
Thence Thillada Mirrada, a royal station, a palace, a temple of Diana built by Darius. The place is a καμπτολις —that is, a village of the first magnitude. There is here a canal of Semiramis, and the course of the Euphrates has been blocked with stones, that, being confined, it may inundate the plains. In summer, however, vessels are wrecked here, - -	4
Forward,	10

	SCHŒNI.
Brought over,	10
"Then Allan, a comopolis, - -	4
Thence Biunan, a temple of Diana, -	4
Then Phaliga, on the Euphrates. This name in Greek would be μεσοπαγιον, (autumnal) [or according to Bochart's reading μεσοπεγον, the mid-passage,] -	6
	24

"From Antiocheia to this spot there are a hundred schœni, and from it to Seleuceia on the Tigris a hundred and twenty. The comopolis Nabagath is close to Ephaliga, and there flows by it the river Aboras. From it the armies cross to the Roman side of the Euphrates."

It is wonderful that Isidore should have found so many spots worthy of being recorded between the two rivers, as Ptolemy has only one named Maguda, which by the simple change of the γ into ϛ becomes Maruda, the same in all appearance with the Mirrada of Isidore. The Nubian has also only one station, in the same interval, which he calls Chobuca or Cholluca. D'Anville, misled by the Latin translation, supposes that the work of Semiramis was dykes to confine the Euphrates within proper bounds, a work of supererogation in the deserts of Arabia, where the inundation of the river is hailed as the greatest blessing. In the translation I have adopted ὑπερκλυζει from a various reading, instead of ὑπερκλυζει of the text. Isidore's description can apply only to one of those numerous bands or barriers by which the ancients raised

the level of the rivers in order to irrigate the neighbouring districts. He also adds a very natural consequence, that at times it obstructed the navigation and caused shipwrecks. The following passage from Kinneir's account of his voyage down the Tigris will be the best commentary:—

"At half-past five we crossed a very ancient band or dyke, called Nimrood, supposed to have existed in the time of Alexander, and to have been built by some of the early kings of Assyria, with the view of raising the waters of the Tigris for the irrigation of the adjacent country. It is constructed of stone, and carried across the river from bank to bank; but I conjecture that a great part of it has fallen down: it now forms a fall about a foot in height, over which we were carried with such velocity, that I was alarmed lest the raft should have been broken asunder."*

The Venetian Balbi, as quoted by D'Anville, evidently alludes to this ancient work when he says, that near Zeleby "the stones accumulated in the bed of the river appeared to have raised it twenty cubits," an apparent exaggeration, as D'Anville justly observes.†

But the fact is sufficient to prove, that the author of the Peutingerian Tables had ample reason for inserting the streams alluded to before as leading into the centre of the Arabian Desert.

At the confluence of the Khabour and the Euphrates, Dioclesian built a strong fortress, called Cercusium, the Karkisiah of the Arabian authors. The advantages of the situation make it more than pro-

* P. 465. † Euph. et Tig. p. 44.

bable that a city existed there from the remotest ages, and, consequently, when Benjamin of Tudela informs us, that it was the Carchemish of the Scriptures, to the siege of which Pharaoh Necho was marching when king Josiah unsuccessfully attempted to prevent him, his traditional information carries conviction with it, as Karkisiah is the very spot where an Egyptian invader would first come in contact with an Assyrian garrison.

Ptolemy places, at the confluence of the two rivers, a town also of the name of Chaboras, while Isidore gives the oriental names of two places, one most likely on each bank of the Khabour. If I might venture on an oriental etymology, I would suggest, that the Phaliga of Isidore meant the divider, the separater, as it was, according to Procopius, the Φρουριον ισχατον of the Romans that guarded the line of division between them and the Persians. The Khabour, on which it was situated, is a large river, over which Julian threw a bridge, and as he broke it down to prevent the return of stragglers, the stream must have been not fordable.

From the Khabour, the itinerary of Isidore thus proceeds as far as the city Giddan :

	SCHŒNI.
" Then after the Aboras the village Asicha,	4
Thence Dura, a city of Nicanor, built by the Macedonians. By the Greeks it is called Europus, - - -	6
Then the comopolis Merrah, a strong fortress, - - - -	5
Then Giddan, a city, - -	5
	20"

Zosimus, in narrating the expedition of Julian, brings him on board a vessel to a spot where he erected a tribunal, and then to Zaitha, thence to Dura, a ruined city, where the tomb of the Emperor Gordian was shown to them. In four days more the army arrived at a place called Phathusæ, with its citadel near it, on an island in the Euphrates.

Ammianus differs in some particulars: "Having quitted the banks of the Aboras, we arrived at Zaitha, which, translated, is an olive tree. Here we saw the tomb of the Emperor Gordian conspicuous from a distance."* "Although the fleet sailed down the river with its numerous windings, it was not allowed either to fall behind, nor to precede the army. Having marched for two days, we arrived near Dora, a deserted city, placed on the banks of the river."† "After that, having made short marches for four days, as the evening approached, Count Lucilianus, by the Emperor's orders, at the head of a thousand light armed men embarked for the purpose, is sent forward to take, by storm, Anatha, a fortified place, surrounded like most others by the streams of the Euphrates." Next morning Julian himself went to the assistance of his lieutenant, and the inhabitants "descended and surrendered themselves. The fortress was destroyed by fire, and the inhabitants sent into Syria."

We are told by Eutropius that the tomb of Gordi an was twenty miles distant from Circesium.‡ These being Roman measure, give nineteen English

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* Lib. xxiii. † Lib. xxiv. ‡ Lib. ix. b. 2.

miles, at which distance from the confluence of the Khabour and Euphrates was the tomb of Gordian. According to Isidore, on the principle before explained, Dura was thirty-two miles and a half, map-distance, from the Khabour. The Romans, under Julian, spent three days in traversing the intervening distance, reaching Zaitha in one, and Dura in two more days. Ammianus does not say that the tomb of Gordian was at Zaitha, but that they saw it *longe conspicuum*. In all probability it was also visible at Dura, where Zosimus says it was shown to the Romans. As Zaitha was at the end of the first day's march, its geographical position may be safely fixed on the left bank of the Euphrates, eleven miles to the south of the junction of the Khabour. As the name signifies an olive tree, or grove, some marks of more than common fertility may still remain to indicate the spot.

This is a most important result, as Zaitha is one of Ptolemy's positions, and enables us to trace his towns both up and down the river, in both Arabia and Mesopotamia, from a centre which cannot be disputed. The station next to Zaitha in Ptolemy is Baithautha, 50 minutes to the east and five to the south of Zaitha. The reader unaccustomed to study etymology must needs be surprised when told, that the Baithautha of Ptolemy and the Phathusæ of Zosimus are precisely the same word; with this difference, that Ptolemy preserved the foreign form, which Zosimus Hellenized by changing one of the aspirates into a sigma, and placing the rejected aspiration on the beta. The rule which induced the

Greeks studiously to avoid the repetition of the same aspirated consonant in two successive syllables caused the first change, and the second was commonly practised by the Asiatic Greeks.

Nor can there be any reason to doubt that this Baithautha of Ptolemy was either the Corsotè of Xenophon, or in its immediate vicinity; for Ptolemy places the junction of his Saocoras (which must be the same as the Maskas of Xenophon,) with the Euphrates, in the same longitude, and 15 minutes to the north of Baithautha; and there are circumstances, perhaps, which will enable us to identify both positions with the modern Ersy.

Rauwolf says, "In these wildernesses I saw nothing worth speaking of, but, on the 9th of October, some ancient turrets that stood upon the high banks on a point called Eusy, (Ersy,) where, as some say, hath been formerly a famous town. Thereabouts the river taketh so large a circumference, that we went longer than half a day before we could pass it."

As the Anatha of Ammianus and the Phathusæ of Zosimus are evidently the same, with this distinction, that the first might have been the island-fortress, the last the city on the main land, we need not wonder that Theo. Simocatta calls Anatha a fortress on the Euphrates below Circesium; and that Libanius, who drew his information immediately from Julian, describes it as "a fortress in a peninsula of the Euphrates."* The branch of the Euphrates between it and Mesopotamia, in all probability was sometimes

* Lib. v. p. 312.

dry, and at other times full, so that, during the inundations, it was an island,—at low water, a peninsula. This is the jutting promontory round which the Euphrates makes, as described by Rauwolf, so long a circuit, and at the north-eastern, or north-western side of which the Saocoras entered the Euphrates, in Ptolemy's time, and in all probability intersected so much of the isthmus as to give occasion to Xenophon to say that the Maskas flowed round Corsotè.

The Greeks marched in five days from the Mouth of the Khabour to Corsotè. Their average rate of daily progress down the Euphrates was eleven miles and a half; these multiplied by five give near fifty-eight miles. As the Giddan of Isidore must have been also in the vicinity of Corsotè, for there could not have existed any city in this country at any great distance from the Saocoras, we may avail ourselves of his measures. Giddan is placed by him twenty schœni from Phaliga. This would be sixty-five miles on the map. As we have seen before, the army of Julian traversed the first thirty-two miles and a half in three days; and as the next four marches were "levi itinere," in all probability, to allow the fleet to make its way good through the numerous windings, it is natural to suppose, that the last thirty-two miles occupied four days. Rauwolf, in a single vessel, was four days between the Mouth of the Khabour and Eusy. It is not likely, therefore, that a fleet of eleven hundred craft could have performed it in less than seven. It may be asked, where at present is the Maskas of Xenophon, the Saocoras of Ptolemy? My answer is, that it has not hitherto been observed by modern

travellers, though I have little doubt of its existence on the same line where it was in ancient times. Ebn Haukal says, "Rahabah Malek ben Tauk is a town well watered and planted with trees, situated on the eastern side of the river Forat," (Euphrates.) Now, the Nubian geographer says, that between Racca and Bagdat there were ten of his stations, two of which intervened between Karkisiah and Rahabah Malek ben Tauk. The distance between Bagdat and Racca, both well ascertained points, is at least 340 miles. The Nubian states the actual distance at 372, in a direct line. These divided by 10 give 34 miles as the length of the Nubian's station on this road. His Rahabah Malek ben Tauk must be, therefore, somewhere about 68 miles down the Euphrates from Karkisiah; but the Giddan of Isidore is in that immediate vicinity also. Both, therefore, I doubt not were on the Maskas. The very name Rahab reminds us of the City of Waters; and as its opposite neighbour, Rahab Meshed, is undoubtedly on an Arabian stream, so it may be inferred, that Rahabah Malek ben Tauk is, or was, on a Mesopotamian stream. The banks of the Euphrates, on the Mesopotamian side, are here mountainous; Rahabah consequently could not have been well watered, had it not been furnished from another river. The upper part of the course of such a stream would suit well with the Vadi al Seba of the Nubian, placed inland by him 45 miles to the east of a branch of the Khabour, called Soaid. Vadi

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* P. 5, 9. Oas. Tran.

Wadi, or Guadi, means in its primary signification river, though doubtless, among the more modern orientals, it is more generally applied to the beds of streams which, however impetuous during the rainy season, are dry in summer. Such may be the case with the Vadi at Seba, and the reason why it has not been more particularly described. I confess, however, for my own part, that I believe the ancient inhabitants of these plains were more copiously furnished with water than modern travellers allow them possibly to have enjoyed. The scanty streams of the modern Tadmor seem totally inadequate to the supply of the population of the imperial Palmyra; and even the Abana and Pharpar, which, with far more justice, might be termed the golden streams, than the Pactolus and the Tagus, seem to have lost much of that fair proportion which could challenge equality with the Jordan. The diffusion and dispersion of the waters, for the purpose of irrigation, must be destructive to the main stream, and something may be attributed to the encroachment of the sandy ocean, which, when unresisted, gradually spreads its devastating influence; but, with all due allowance for these causes, I cannot help thinking, that man also has been an active agent in the work of concealment. To elucidate this idea, I quote the following passage from Tacitus:* Corbulo, while preparing against a Parthian invasion through Mesopotamia, "because the whole country was scantily supplied with water,

* Lib. xv. c. 5.

placed forts at the springs, and concealed some streams by filling them up with sand." If the Roman did this, what may not the jealous Arab have done, who feels that a perennial stream of any magnitude becomes the home of men, who, as he will not amalgamate with them, drive him to the desert?

Should, therefore, the blessings of pure religion and enlightened civilization be ever again (as no doubt they will be) extended to those most interesting countries, it may reasonably be expected, that many precious streams which now ooze uselessly through the sand will be uncovered, and serve to change the barren wilderness into fruitful fields.

THE RIGHT BANK OF THE EUPHRATES BETWEEN SURIEH AND RAHABAH MALEK BEN TAUK.

Below Thapsacus, Ptolemy places Birtha or Bithra, of which nothing is known. The situation will suit the Mohammedia of Edrisi. The next station, Gadirtha, was the Zenobia of the Byzantine writers, the Zeleby of the map. We derive very important information from Procopius de Ædificiis concerning this line:* "In the province commonly called Commagenè, now Euphratesia, the Persians and the Romans do not dwell in the vicinity of each other; for a barren and unproductive region extending to an immense space, and having nothing worth a contest,

* Lib. ii. cap. 8.

intervenes between the limits of both empires." Diocesian built three fortresses, Mambri, Zenobia, (afterwards strengthened and named after her own name by the Palmyrenian queen,) and Sura; of these, Mambri was the most eastern, and five miles above it was Zenobia; the situation of Sura we have before seen. In the famous Persian invasion of Syria, in the reign of Justinian, Chosroes Nushirvan marched through the desert, along the western bank of the Euphrates, and captured Sura, the first Roman town on that side, in less than half an hour, as Procopius informs us. Gibbon has substituted Dura for Sura; but Dura was on the eastern bank, and was not a border town. Previous to this invasion, Zenobia and Mambri had fallen into ruins, and had been completely deserted. "The river Euphrates (says Procopius) flows to the east of Zenobia, close at the foot of the walls, and is prevented from expatiating by the high hills which confine it in this part. Confined, therefore, by the neighbouring hills and precipitous banks, the channel is contracted, and wherever the river, swoln by the rains, rises, it dashes against the walls, and washes not only the foundations but the battlements, so as to displace, by the force of the torrent, the courses of stones, and endanger the whole building. Justinian remedied this evil by erecting an immense breastwork of enormous stones, and breaking the force of the current before it reached the walls. And as the city, commanded by the hills to the west, was liable to be annoyed were an enemy to occupy them, Justinian enclosed their summits within the walls, and crowned them with fortresses." Rauwolf

thus describes Zeleby: "On the fourth day (after leaving Racca) about noon we came to the end of the mountains, before which, without, on this side lieth a very strong citadel, on a high hill, built three square by the inhabitants, called Seleby, whereof two points go downwards to the river, and the third upward a great way up the mountain, so that in its situation it is very like unto Baden in Switzerland. Although it is demolished, it is still very strong in its walls, that are to be seen on the top and on the sides, chiefly towards the hills and river side, to hinder the passage both by sea and land."

Of the identity of Zelebi and Zenobia from the description there can be no doubt. In such a desert as intervenes between Racca and Ul-Der there could not have been two such fortresses. Procopius justly styled Zenobia "the preserving bulwark of the empire, built to curb the Persians." "It is impossible," he adds, "to express in words all that the emperor did for Zenobia, thinking it required all his vigilance, as it was situated in a most desolate region, and consequently always exposed to attack, but unable to obtain assistance from the Romans on account of its remote situation."

Below Zelebi Rauwolf saw another town on an ascent, to which he gives the extraordinary name of Seccard. What oriental name lurks under this misnomer is beyond the reach of conjecture. Its situation with respect to Gadirtha would suit the Au-Zara of Ptolemy; and as it was a strong place, it might represent Mambri. Of Audatra, Ptolemy's next station, nothing can be said; but the following

Id-Dara, or Da-Dara, is undoubtedly the modern Ul-Der. The name itself has suffered no material change; and its position in Ptolemy, 50 minutes to the west of Zaitha, fixed before on the left bank of the Euphrates, eleven miles below the mouth of the Khabour, indubitably identifies it with Ul-Der, which has too long on modern maps usurped the title of Thapsacus.

Ptolemy gives the name of four other towns on the right side, none of which reach the longitude of Baithautha. One of them must have been Rahabah Meshed,—the El Rechaby of Rauwolf,—a flourishing city in a fertile spot in the desert. But it is easier to conjecture than to ascertain which of them it was. So much for both banks of the Euphrates between the mouths of the Bilecha and Maskas.

On the present occasion I shall not attempt to trace its course further, as I look upon the principal stations and the direction of the stream to be wrong, as laid down in the map. Unluckily there is no position set down in the oriental tables between Karkisiah and Kufa, while the figures of Karkisiah itself are evidently a misprint. Much, I fear, has consequently been very blind guessing, and the distorted ingenuity of d'Anville has perhaps partly contributed to this. In the translation of the Nubian geographer, miles are used as the measure of distance. D'Anville instantly inferred that this must be an Arabian mile; and as the Khalif Al-Mamoun had procured the admeasurement of a degree, and fixed it at 57 miles, the great geographer adapted all his positions taken from the Nubian to this standard.

But it is evident that either the Nubian himself, or his translators, (the latter in all probability,) went upon the supposition that the oriental fursang was equal to three miles; for all his distances in Asia, with the exception of a few misprints, are multiples of the numbers three, nine, twelve, fifteen, eighteen, twenty-one, twenty-four, twenty-seven, and so on to seventy-two, and are no doubt as indefinite as his day-course by sea, and his stations by land. As Hillah, however, is allowed by all to occupy some quarter of the ancient site of Babylon, and as its position is well ascertained, I prefer for the present to return to the Greeks and to the field of battle, fought, as before said, on the left bank of the Euphrates, 36 miles map-distance from the modern Hillah, and near a spot indicated by the word *Kan*, on Arrowsmith's map.

The Greeks spent the night and the day following on the ground where they had first met the Persians. In the course of the next night they marched back and joined Ariæus, who had regained the place whence they had set out on the morning of the battle. This march would remove them about eleven miles farther from Babylon. Next day they marched in a north or north-eastern direction, and arrived at some villages, where they fell in with a part of the king's army encamped. From these villages they were conducted another day's march, evidently to the east, as they had to cross canals which they had not seen before. That night they reached other villages, where they were furnished with provisions. These two days' march, the first in a north-easterly, the se-

cond in an easterly direction, would bring them to the same parallel of longitude as the field of battle, but nearly a day's march to the north of it.

There they remained until a treaty was concluded, according to which they were to be allowed, under Persian guides, to return home at their own expense. These villages I place at a spot indicated by the last *a* in Kawa of Arrowsmith's map. There they continued for 20 days, until they were joined by Tissaphernes and Orontes, each at the head of a large army. These satraps were appointed to conduct them back into Ionia. We want a clue to the proceedings of the Persian court, and the principles on which it acted, as Xenophon, with the most scrupulous caution, and with a modesty, however much admired, seldom imitated, never attempts to unveil the intrigues, nor pretends to be initiated in the secrets of the imperial council. He has left the facts on record; and if we cannot deduce the truth from them, our ignorance must be imputed to want of sagacity.

We may infer from the hypocritical speeches of Tissaphernes and his subsequent actions, that his orders were to disband and enslave, if not to destroy, the Greeks. To this intention must be ascribed the line of march dictated by him, and the appearance of a new and formidable force in the course of it. A Persian council, unable to understand the principles of that bond of union, that, *after the death of their great leader, could prevent* the immediate dispersion of the slaves that followed his banner, would for a time wait in expectation of the event. When satisfied by the result that there still existed some inex-

plicable bond, their next inference would be to attribute it to the influence of the army's native leaders. Should these, therefore, be destroyed, their followers, according to all oriental precedents, must be reduced at once to a state of helpless inaction, and consequent dissolution of all unity of purpose.

Nor is it wonderful that Clearchus agreed to march in an eastern direction. He must have been acquainted, if not with the writings of Herodotus, at least with the knowledge made public by his immortal work, and that the best and easiest road from Western Asia to the Persian capital was not by following the course of the Euphrates, but by traversing Mesopotamia, crossing the Tigris, and marching down its eastern bank; consequently that the best and easiest mode of returning to Western Asia would be to cross the Tigris, and retrace the route indicated by Herodotus. But whether he was convinced or not of the preference due to this line, it is evident from his answer to the Greeks, when remonstrating against the long stay at the provision villages, that he judged it the wiser course not to seem to distrust the faith of the Persian court, nor to give the slightest cause for an open rupture. Clearchus was an able man, and felt that the last alternative remained always in the power of the Greeks, and that it differed little whether the exterminating combat took place on the western or eastern bank of the Tigris. In the mean time there was a chance, as long as the Grecian army was kept in a disciplined and formidable state, that the orientals might permit their retreat, rather than risk a mortal struggle

against men whose superiority in the field they had already feelingly experienced.

Yet, after all, we have full proofs from Xenophon that the Spartan was far from being easy in his mind. The precautions during the march, and the alarm evidenced by him when informed of an intended attack on the bridge, prove that he placed no blind confidence in the good faith of his conductors, and that he had determined to follow them only as far as prudence would allow.

They set out from the provision villages under the guidance of Tissaphernes and Orontes, and in three days passed within the Wall of Media. Xenophon expressly says that the point where they passed within the wall was not far from Babylon,—an assertion from which we may legitimately conclude that it was nearer than any place where they had hitherto been. In two days more, after crossing two canals, one by a common bridge, the other by a bridge buttressed on seven vessels, they arrived at the Tigris. They crossed it, and in four days more reached the river Physcus and the city Opis. There they met the king's illegitimate brother, coming from Susa and Ecbatana, with a large army to the assistance of his brother.

If we adopt eleven miles and three-fourths, which was the average rate of their daily advance between Ephesus and the field of battle, as the standard of their peaceful progress from the field to Opis, the first three days' march, amounting to thirty-five miles, will terminate at the Jar-Jarya of Arrowsmith's map, a spot not far from Babylon. The next two

days' advance, estimated at twenty-three miles and a fraction, reaches the Dorista of the map, and the last four days, producing nearly forty-seven miles, will bring them exactly to the bridge across the Tigris, the ruins of which were seen by Mr Kinneir, and over which I supposed Alexander to have marched from Babylon upon Susa.

I trust that I have already proved, that Ecbatana was the same city as Ispahan. But should any one deny that, I may confidently assert, that no body of troops coming from Susa alone could ever have met the Greeks, had they, as in general supposed, immediately after crossing, marched up and not down the Tigris.

Twenty-nine days had now elapsed since the conclusion of the treaty, and nothing but a firm determination to crush the Greeks could have induced the Persian court to order the approach of this formidable force; the union of which with the former armies might naturally have terrified less resolute men into unconditional submission. That Clearchus viewed it in this light is evident from the manœuvre by which he continued to give so imposing an appearance to his little band as even to astonish the Greeks themselves at their apparent numbers, and, in the words of Xenophon, utterly to confound the barbarian.

During this march the army met four objects of considerable importance:

1. The Median Wall;
2. The large canal, crossed by a bridge requiring seven vessels to support it;

3. The passage of the Tigris, and the city Sittace;
4. The river Physcus, and the city Opis.

THE MEDIAN WALL.

This is described by Xenophon as 20 feet broad, 100 feet high, said to be 20 parasangs long, and built of burnt bricks laid in bitumen, at no great distance from Babylon. It is worthy of remark, that Herodotus has left no description of this stupendous work, and that no allusion to its existence occurs in the historians of Alexander and his successors, or in the historical and mythological books of Diodorus Siculus. It is matter of doubt with me whether any author of credit, with the exception of Xenophon, even hints at its existence. The following passage from Strabo may be supposed by some to refer to it:—

"The Euphrates, (according to Eratosthenes,) after gradually approaching the Tigris, in the neighbourhood of the Διατείχισμα of Semiramis and the village called Opis, distant about 200 stadia from the Euphrates, and having flowed through Babylon, falls into the Persian Gulf."* The description is, however, too vague to allow us to draw any satisfactory conclusion from it. It refers evidently to the Tigris, and to some work on its banks, which, like every thing unknown, was attributed to the fabulous

* Lib. ii. cap. 1.

Semiramis. Ammianus, in his narrative, writes more as an explainer of antiquities than as an original historian: "Julian arrives at the village Macepracta, where were seen the half-destroyed vestiges of walls, said to have extended in ancient times to an immense length, for the purpose of defending Assyria from incursions."* The ruins of any city might have suggested to Ammianus the idea of the Median Wall, for the appearance of which he was already prepared; and at times I have imagined that Xenophon was himself imposed upon by his Persian conductors, and that the wall seen by him was in reality some great work immediately connected with Babylon itself. The length attributed to it by them is an evident exaggeration, as it was more than double the distance between the two rivers in the neighbourhood of Babylon. I am strongly inclined, on the whole, to leave the great Median Wall among those points respecting which it is easier to excite doubts than to acquire information.

THE GREAT CANAL.

As the Greeks had to pass the Great Canal, which required seven vessels for its bridge, and consequently must have been equal in size to the Mæander, which required the same number, their march, after having passed within the walls, was either directly south or south-east; for, in their previous advance, they

* Lib. xxiv.

had not crossed any canal of such magnitude. And as this was in all probability the stream called the Royal River, the Nahr Malcha of later writers, a short discussion on the subject is necessary; and if, in the course of it, more attention be paid to the authorities of ancient than of modern authors, it must be attributed to this cause, that the first knew the country, and described what they had seen; the latter only guess, after the country has assumed another appearance, and the canals have ceased to flow.

Herodotus says, "The whole of Babylonia, like Egypt, is intersected by canals. The largest of them is navigable, running from the north-west to the south-east. It empties its waters from the Euphrates into another river, the Tigris."* Xenophon's is the next account. Thirty years after him come the historians of Alexander, as quoted by Arrian, who does not mention the Great Canal, although he gives important information on the course of the Euphrates:† "While men were employed in building the triremes and excavating a harbour at Babylon, Alexander sailed from the city along the Euphrates to the river called the Pallacopas." This is about 800 stadia distant from Babylon, and is a canal from the Euphrates, and not a stream rising from springs; for the Euphrates flowing from the Armenian Hills, in the winter season, keeps within its banks, as there is no great body of water in it at that season. But at the first appearance of spring, and especially at the summer solstice, it increases to a great size, and inundates the Assyrian territory; for at that period

* Lib. i. cap. 198. † Lib. vii. cap. 21.

the melting of the snow on the Armenian Hills swells its waters greatly; and as its banks are low, and the rise in the current great, it would cover the whole country, were its bank not cut at the Pallacopas, and the superfluous water diverted to the marshes and lakes. But those commencing from the cut extend to the borders of Arabia. Lower down is formed an extensive morass, the waters of which reach the sea by numerous and for the most part invisible channels. But after the snow has ceased to melt, and especially about the setting of the Vergiliæ, (say the latter end of October,) the Euphrates becomes small, and nevertheless discharges the greater part of its waters by the Pallacopas into the lakes. If, therefore, the entrance into the Pallacopas were not obstructed so as to confine the water within its proper channel, the Euphrates would empty itself into it, so that the Assyrian territory could no longer be irrigated. To guard against this, the entrance of the Euphrates into the Pallacopas was regularly obstructed by the Babylonian satrap, a task of great trouble, (although it was easy to open it,) as the soil was principally formed of mud and fine clay, which easily gave way to the current, and rendered the work of obstruction very difficult. More than 10,000 Assyrians were employed for three months every year in completing the task. Alexander, on hearing this, determined to confer a benefit on Assyria; but having *despaired**

* Every scholar, who will take the trouble of examining the original, must see that ηγεω in the printed text is an error, and that the true reading is απεγεω.

of forming an efficient barrier at the place where the current of the Euphrates was then turned into the Pallacopas, he advanced thirty stadia farther, and discovered that the ground below the surface was rocky, so that if the cut in the bank was made there, the firmness of the ground would prevent the diffusion of the waters, and in the proper season render the obstruction easy. For this purpose he sailed to the Pallacopas, and down it into the lakes." It may be inferred also, that there was a communication for vessels between these lakes and Babylon; for, on his return, Arrian describes Alexander as leaving Babylon "on the left" before he regained the Euphrates.

The whole passage transcribed from Arrian will enable the reader not only to understand what is to follow, but also perfectly to comprehend the manner in which Babylon was captured by Cyrus, and the nature of the works attributed by Herodotus to Nitocris:

"Cyrus, as soon as the spring appeared, advanced against Babylon. The Babylonians went out to meet him, were defeated in battle, and driven into the city. But as they had foreseen that Cyrus would not remain quiet, and had witnessed his successive subjugation of every nation, they had provisioned the city for many years. They therefore made no account of the siege. But Cyrus was reduced to great difficulties, as the time was rapidly passing away, and no progress made. At last, however, he put in execution the following plan, either invented by himself, or suggested by another: He placed a part of his

army on the spot where the river entered, and a part where it quitted the city, with orders to march in as soon as they saw the river fordable. Having thus arranged, and given orders, he put himself at the head of the inefficient part of his army, and arrived at the lake which the Babylonian queen had formed, and did the reverse of what she had done; for he directed the river into the lake, which was then a morass, and, by withdrawing the current, rendered the ancient channel fordable. When this occurred, the Persians, who were stationed on the channel of the Euphrates, entered Babylon as soon as the waters had retired, so as to admit them without wetting above the middle of their thighs."*

From this account it is clear, that Cyrus, who had commenced operations with the first appearance of the spring, had been baffled until the autumn, when the low state of the water and its natural inclination to the right enabled him, by cutting the bank opposite the Pallacopas, to turn the stream into the lakes, and thus almost entirely drain the river of Babylon.

It is also as clear, that the account given by Herodotus of the lakes and the artificial sinuosities is applicable to the Pallacopas alone, and its dependent stagnations, and that if the Babylonian government compelled all vessels, in their voyage from Western Asia to Babylon, to take the extraordinary circuits described by Herodotus, it must have been by send-

* Herodotus, lib. i. cap. 190.

ing them down the Pallacopas to make the tour of the lakes, before they approached the great city; consequently that this voyage could only be performed during the floods, and when the Pallacopas was open. The best commentary on such a practice is a reference to the policy of the Chinese government in similar cases; for one great object of its policy is to prevent strangers from becoming acquainted with the locality of the more important positions in the celestial empire; and there are abundant proofs that the Assyrian and the Chinese were cognate races.

The eight hundred stadia mentioned by Arrian are of course the stadia of the biographers of Alexander, commonly called the Aristotelian stadium, fifteen and a fraction of which, according to D'Anville, supported by Dr Vincent, were equal to a mile; these eight hundred stadia divided by fifteen, and allowing the fraction for the difference between the map and actual distance, in this level country, give fifty-three miles, which, measured from Hillah, bring us to the immediate vicinity of the Rousvania of Arrowsmith's map, on one side of which, and on the right bank, the traces of the Pallacopas are, in all human probability, still visible.

Strabo gives a similar account, copied, as he says, from Aristobulus. The common mistake in placing the Pallacopas in the marshes *below* Babylon, where it could not prove of the slightest service, is totally inexcusable.

In order, however, to understand the information given by other writers, I shall at once quote Ptolemy,

who gives, if not a distinct, a fair general view of the rivers of Babylon in his time. I ought to premise, that while, in Herodotus, Xenophon, and the companions of Alexander, we find only three main streams, the Pallacopas, the Euphrates, properly so called, and the Great Canal, or Nahr Malcha, Ptolemy adds a fourth, which I doubt not was a new royal river formed for Seleuceia and its territories by its great founder; for, without such a communication with the Euphrates, the city of Seleucus could never have attained its wealth, splendour, and population.

Under Mesopotamia, Ptolemy has the following notice:—

"The point of the Euphrates, where it is divided into the stream that flows through Babylon, and the one that flows through Seleuceia. The stream that intervenes between these two is called the Royal River. The place where this latter is diverted from the main stream is in

	LONGITUDE	LATITUDE
	79	35.20
Seleuceia itself is	79.20	35.20."

Lower down, on the same side of the Tigris, we find Apameia in longitude 79.10, latitude 34.10, with the following note:—

"Below which is the junction of the Royal River with the Tigris, near the territory Mesene."

The original is εγγυς μεση χωρα, εν δε τῃ αλλῃ μεσῃ χωρᾳ. For the first μεση, which is nonsense, I read Μεσηνη. The

occurrence of μετὰ ταῦτα immediately after accounts for the mistake.

Babylon itself is placed by him in

Longitude 79. Latitude 35.

According to Ptolemy, therefore, the Royal River quitted the main stream twenty minutes immediately to the north of Babylon, and seventy minutes to the south-west of the ascertained point Seleuceia. This agrees exactly with the description of its course in Herodotus, and with the actual experience of Xenophon. It seems in Ptolemy to have been the boundary between his Mesopotamia and Babylonia.

Higher up there was the more modern royal river of Seleucus, which entered the Tigris to the *north* of Seleuceia. This is evident from the account given in Polybius of a discussion in the camp of Antiochus the Great, not far from Mosul, as to the most eligible course for advancing upon Seleuceia and attacking Molo.* Hermeias, the chief minister, was for marching down the right bank of the Tigris; but Zeuxis, a better general, proposed that they should cross the Tigris and descend through Assyria, "alleging, as his reasons, both the other difficulties of the march along the river, and that they must, after a long march, in the first instance, employ six days in crossing a desert, and then arrive at the Royal Canal, to cross which, if preoccupied by the enemy, was impossible, while a retreat through the desert would be

* Lib. v. cap. 51.

evidently dangerous, especially from the want of provisions." Had this been the Royal River of Xenophon and Ptolemy, the argument would have been ridiculous, as the rich and populous city of Seleuceia and its vicinity would have amply supplied the army with provision. The Royal Canal of Polybius must consequently have been to the north of Seleuceia, although, doubtless, close to it, as Pliny says that the city was built "at the confluence of the Euphrates, conducted by a canal, and of the Tigris."* When the western Bagdat was built, a fresh canal was required, and the Nahr Isa excavated.

Under Babylonia, Ptolemy writes thus:—

"There flows through the country the Royal River, (the river that flows through Babylon,) and the Baarsares, which joins the Euphrates at a point in longitude 79, in latitude 34.40, and which joins the stream, flowing through Babylonia, called the Royal River, at a point in longitude 79, latitude 34.20; and these rivers and their dependant streams form lakes and marshes."

The mistakes committed by the first geographers in consequence of misunderstanding this passage have been most fatal. They forgot that Ptolemy did not enumerate either the Euphrates or the Tigris, as rivers flowing through Mesopotamia, a description applicable, in his view, only to the Chaboras and its streams, to the Saocoras and the Seleuceian Canal. In

* Lib. vi. c. 26.

descending into Babylonia he observed the same rule, and the above-mentioned streams are enumerated as separate from the Euphrates and the Tigris; consequently his Euphrates is not the Euphrates of Herodotus and the companions of Alexander, not the river that flowed through the centre of Babylon, but the western stream, the Pallacopas of Arrian,—a fact demonstrable from the following positions on the several rivers under Babylonia:—

"Along the Euphrates are the following cities:—

	LONGITUDE.	LATITUDE.
Idicara,	77	33.20
Duraba,	77.20	34
Thaccona,	77.15	34.10
Thelbencane,	78.10	35.10

And on the river that flows through Babylon:—

	LONGITUDE.	LATITUDE.
Babylon,	79	35

And on the Baar Sares:—

	LONGITUDE.	LATITUDE.
Volgesia,	78.4	34.10
Barsita,	78.4	33.20."

As Ptolemy could not have erred on this point from ignorance, the probability is, that in his days the Pallacopas had become the main stream, and the river of Babylon an inferior branch. We have before seen, that the natural tendency of the Euphrates was to rush into the Pallacopas, and that it was a

Herculean task to prevent most of its waters from adopting that course. The continued struggle between the colonized Greeks and the Parthians, which at last ended in the total destruction of Seleuceia, did not allow much time and labour to be bestowed upon the canals and embankments. It was consequently to be expected that Nature should triumph, and the Pallacopas become the main channel of the Euphrates. Whether it is credible that the waters of the Pallacopas extended so far as two degrees westward of Babylon must be left to the private judgment of the reader. Eratosthenes, according to Strabo, held even that the lakes and quicksands (the Serbonian Bog) in the neighbourhood of Rinocolura and Mount Casius, were caused by the transudation of the Euphratesian lakes, and their re-appearance on this coast,* —an extravagant opinion, which nevertheless implies that these stagnations did extend far more to the west than is generally believed. Even Strabo himself affirms, that Arabia was isolated by the extent of these waters. This description of the wanderings of the waters of the Euphrates, till finally lost in "lakes, morasses, and reed-beds," and also the very interesting account given in the Æthiopics of Heliodorus of the arundinacious marshes of the Nile, with their shallow intersecting channels, ought to induce our Australian colonists to examine the apparent termination of their great rivers with much care before they pronounce that there is no communication with the sea.

* Lib. xvi. cap. 1.

It is also clear, that this same western branch was the river "Chebar, or Chobar, in the land of the Chaldeans," mentioned by the Prophet Ezekiel.* Some writers affirm, that the Euphrates, at the point where I said it divided, "was diverted by a certain satrap called Gobares, (or Cobares,) that it might not damage Assyria by the force of its current, and that it was called the Armalchan, (Nahrmalcha,) signifying the Royal River."† As it is well known that it was the Great Canal that had this name, it may almost be inferred as a certainty, that the cut which conducted the superfluous waters into the lakes was called the Nahr Cobar. I suspect strongly that this last word still lurks in the latter part of the unmeaning denomination Palla-copas. Benjamin of Tudela, in his pilgrimage, visited the tomb of Ezekiel, a place held holy to this day; and where, at the appointed season, many assemble for the sake of prayer, from the beginning of the year to the feast of Expiation.‡ "It is situated between the rivers Cobar and Euphrates." Niebuhr found it about half-way between Mesched Ali and Hillah: "Kesil is the Arabian name of Ezekiel, whose tomb is still annually visited by thousands of Jews."§

I imagine that sufficient attention has not been paid to the unsuspected vehicle of tradition furnished by these annual pilgrimages to the tombs of their prophets, which have existed from the remotest ages, and serve to connect the topographical notices of the mo-

* Chap. i. verses 1st and 3d. † Pliny, lib. vi. c. 26.
‡ P. 72. § Vol. ii. p. 216.

dern with the certain knowledge of the ancient Jews. Could the original work of Benjamin of Tudela be recovered, and edited with notes illustrative of the objects of Jewish pilgrimages, many a dark page in Asiatic geography might be illuminated.

In Ptolemy's account of the Babylonian rivers, the only difficulty is the notice respecting the connexion between his Baar Sares and the Royal River. The figures of the longitude are evidently corrupt; and it is absurd to suppose that the Baar Sares could have communicated with the Royal River in the manner described. Instead of διὰ Βαβυλωνίας, I would unhesitatingly read Βαβυλῶνος, and throw out the rest of the sentence as an unmeaning gloss. Were this done, the Baar Sares of Ptolemy would be a canal leading from the stagnations of his Euphrates to the river of Babylon, a communication which no doubt existed, otherwise Alexander after sailing down the Pallacopas could never have regained the Euphrates in his voyage by keeping Babylon on his left. The very word Bahr (a lake or sea) intimates a connexion with the stagnations. The two towns Vologesia and Barsita (Borsippa) were to the south-west of Babylon on this cross-cut. This Baar Sares is apparently the same as the Narragan of Pliny, placed by him in Chaldæa, and the Nardagna of the Tudelan.

On the whole it appears that in Ptolemy's days there were five main streams of the Euphrates:

1. The Pallacopas, or Chobar, branching to the west, about fifty-three miles above Babylon.

2. The Royal Canal of Polybius, branching to the

east below the Pallacopas, and terminating in the Tigris a little above Seleuceia.

3. The Royal River of most other writers, branching to the east at a point about twenty miles above Babylon, and terminating in the Tigris about fifty-six miles below Seleuceia.

4. The Euphrates itself, flowing through Babylon, and without a doubt joining the Tigris at the modern Korna.

5. The Baar Sares or Nar-ragan, connecting the stagnations of the Pallacopas with the Euphrates, at a point somewhere above Korna, to which, as a main stream during the middle ages, the Nahr Isa may be added as a sixth; and in illustration of their state under the beneficent reigns of the Arabian khalifs, I quote the following passages from the Nubian:—"From Enbar the Euphrates flows into the Isa river and to Bagdat. But Bagdat is situated on the Tigris. But the remainder of the Euphrates, in its course from Rahaba, with an inclination to the desert, (or behind the desert, *a tergo deserti*,) is divided into various arms; one of which proceeds to Sarsar, (or Tsartsar,) another to Al Catsr, another to Sura, and a fourth finally to Kufa, and all these branches are lost in various lakes."* "Between Bagdat and Kufa there occur innumerable villages and populous districts, watered by streams drawn from the Euphrates. In the first place, the vicinity of Bagdat is irrigated by the navigable river Tsartsar,

* P. 197.

on which is situated the city Tsartsar, nine miles distant from Bagdat. It possesses a bridge constructed on vessels, which enable men to cross it at all times. Six miles (or, perhaps, with more propriety two parasangs) from this stream is found another large river, copiously filled with water, called Nahr-al-Malec. From that river to the castle of Ebn Hobeira,—(here seems an omission in the text or translation,)—and thence to Bagdat, there are three short stations, (a day's journey.) From the castle of Ebn Hobeira you proceed to the city Sura, placed on the Euphrates. From the above-mentioned castle the Euphrates pours itself into the district of Kufa, and the remaining waters flow into lakes.

"Kerbelei is on the western side of the Euphrates, exactly opposite the castle of Ebn Hobeira,"* (or Al Catsr, or Kasr Ebn Hobeira.)

The five streams mentioned in the above quotations are easily identified with the ancient courses. After the Nahr Isa comes the Tsartsar, (or Sarsar,) the Royal Canal of Polybius, the Seleuceian stream of others. Then the Nahr-al-Malec, properly so called, flowing, according to Edrisi, to some place called Al Catsr, or the Castle. Then the Euphrates of Babylon flowing by Sura, which was a town on the Euphrates, half a day's journey from Kufa, according to the Tudelan, who visited it. The fourth, the river of Kufa, or the ancient Pallacopas. The sole difference seems to be,

* Edrici, p. 204.

that the place where this last stream burst the banks of the Euphrates was far lower down than the spot indicated by Arrian as the commencement of the Pallacopas. The Nubian does not mention the Baar Sares, which, as we have seen before, was a cross-cut below even Kufa, so that, if existing, it could not have been crossed by a traveller from Bagdat to Kufa.

I flatter myself that I can now conscientiously say, "Such were the waters of Babylon."

This view will be partly confirmed by examining the march of Julian. Ammianus thus writes:— "The army arrived at Macepracta, where were seen the half-destroyed vestiges of walls which were said to have extended in ancient times to an immense distance, for the sake of defending Assyria from foreign invasions.* Hence a part of the river, forming a great body of water, separates and flows to the interior districts of Babylonia, destined to fertilize the fields and adjacent districts. Another part, called Naar-Molcha, signifying the 'River of Kings,' passes by Ctesiphon. A lofty tower like a pharos is erected at the commencement of it. The infantry crossed on bridges, the cavalry swam this stream, although not without being opposed." "When this exploit had been gallantly achieved, they arrived at the large and populous city Perisaboras, (Birsabora,) defended by its insular position." Pliny informs us, that the Euphrates divides near the village Massicè,† and "that there had been at the point of division a town

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* Lib. xxiv. † Lib. v. cap. 26.

of the first magnitude, called Agranis, but the Persians destroyed it."* Golius, in his note on Racca, or Racta, as some write it, says, that as a common word it signifies a well-watered vale. Consequently the Mace-p.-Racta of Ammianus is the Massicè of Pliny, and the latter's account of Agranis illustrates my former remark on the Median Wall of Ammianus. The reader will also remember that the Nahr Malcha of Marcellinus is not the one properly so called; but the Royal Canal of Polybius, the Arabian Sarsar, terminating at Seleuceia, or, as this was destroyed in the time of Julian, at some point opposite to Ctesiphon; Birsabora would consequently be on the Euphrates, properly so called, above the point where the real Nahr Malcha branched eastward. As the citadel was built on the flat top of a rugged hill, the means of ascertaining its site still remain, as I fancy there are few such positions in the immediate neighbourhood. The Kasr Ebn Hobeira may perhaps be found to be its modern representative. The rock was so precipitous, that the governor descended from it by a rope,—" demissus per funem."

The next city Phissenia mentioned by Zosimus was omitted by Ammianus, as Julian passed without attacking it. It was surrounded by a ditch, supplied with water from the real Nahr Malcha, into which the fleet must consequently have turned after passing Birsabora. Along this the fleet continued to proceed until it came to a point, about two days' march

* Lib. vi. cap. 26.

below the ruins of Seleuceia. The army in the mean time had been employed in attacking the towns on both sides, as we read of their crossing and recrossing more than once. A principal town, called Maozamalcha, was taken by a mine, and appears from the description to have had its citadel placed on the brick-formed ruins of some ancient building. As even great cavities capable of containing a formidable force are described as existing in its vicinity, out of which the enemy could not be expelled without the aid of fire, it is impossible that such places could have existed in the plains of Babylonia, were they not similar to the holes which are described as still existing among the mound-ruins of ancient Babylon. The description of the park of wild beasts reminds us also that Jerome has recorded that to such a purpose in his days was a part of the site of ancient Babylon applied. An army like that of Julian, with the fleet in the centre, must have covered a great breadth of country, and easily have enabled detachments from the right to reach Babylon, while the left visited Seleuceia. Had Julian continued to follow the royal river, it would have conducted him below Apameia, and consequently far from Ctesiphon, his principal object. He availed himself, therefore, of a work by which a former Roman invader had conveyed his fleet from one river to the other. This was a broad and deep ditch, about four miles long, leading from the Nahr Malcha to the Tigris. Though partially filled up by the Persians, it was cleared by the orders of Julian. The Royal River rushed in, and bore the fleet triumphantly into the Tigris at a point

reached by the army in two stages after quitting Seleuceia. It is hardly necessary to mention the error of Ammianus in calling this dry ditch the Royal River. During this expedition we hear nothing of the western branches, as the army successively left them on the right.

SITTACÈ.

The Cyreian Greeks next arrived at the river Tigris, "near to which there was a great and populous city called Sittacè, fifteen stadia from the river. The Greeks encamped beside it, near a fair and spacious park, densely planted with trees of various kinds."—Such is Xenophon's account, and it has been hitherto regarded as fixing the position of Sittacè on the right bank of the Tigris. But had it not been on the left bank, it is not likely that Xenophon should have described it as he has done. Had they reached the city first, it would naturally have been mentioned first, especially as fifteen stadia is a considerable distance to an army on march. I would therefore at once ("lenissimâ emendatione," as my friends the philologers have it,) read πρὸς αὐλὸν instead of πρὸς αὐλῶν, and thus make the Greeks to encamp on the *river*-side, "near a fair and spacious park." In such a position it is easy to account for the conduct of the barbarians, who naturally crossed the Tigris in order to partake the enjoyments derivable from the great town. But if the present reading be retained, it must be supposed that they, with exemplary self-denial, marched away and

left Sittacè and its suburbs at the mercy of the Greeks. I may also add, that, had the city been close to the Grecian camp, it would have been absurd to attempt to terrify the Greeks by suggesting that an army was in ambush in the park.

There cannot therefore be a doubt, that the Sittacè of Xenophon was where the Sittacè of all other ancient authors is placed,—at some distance from the river on the left bank of the Tigris. The southern district of Assyria was named Sittacenè from this principal city; and the inhabitants, Sittacenians, who, in Arrian's account of the forces of Darius, are enumerated as being drawn up together with the Babylonians. Strabo writes,—"Sittacenè, a fertile and extensive province, is situated between Babylon and Susa. In travelling, therefore, from Babylon to Susa, the whole line of road lies directly eastward through Sittacenè." Stephanus says that P-Sittacè is a town in Assyria, and Ptolemy places his Sittacè at a considerable distance to the south-east of both Seleuceia and Ctesiphon; consequently the Greeks must have crossed the Tigris below these cities.

OPIS.

It has been shown before that there was an Opis below Seleuceia; it now remains that we should attempt to fix its position more particularly. It may be necessary to premise, that as Herodotus, who himself visited the country, mentions a city called Opis on the Tigris; as Xenophon, fifty years later, saw and

described the same; and Alexander, thirty years after him, also found an Opis, a town of considerable importance upon the Tigris;—there can be no rational doubt that the Opis of the three was the same. In the intermediate period no serious convulsion had disturbed the even tenor of the Persian dynasty, nor had any of those hurricanes of war occurred which, at various periods, have left the fairest cities of Asia a waste of wilderness behind them. We may consequently apply the description given by Herodotus to the illustration of the position of the Opis of Xenophon. He writes,—"Cyrus, in his march against Babylon, arrived on the banks of the Gyndes, the sources of which are in the Matienian Mountains; it flows through the Dardaneans into the Tigris, another river that flows by the city Opis, and enters the Erythreian Sea."* The city which could thus illustrate the course of a river like the Tigris must have been very considerable. The natural order of the description furnished by Herodotus would lead us to infer, that Opis was on the Tigris, below the confluence of the Gyndes with it. Of the course of the Gyndes, modernly speaking, we know nothing. There can be no doubt that, on the road leading from Susa to the Tigris, there once existed a large river, which flowed down from a part of Mount Zagros, and which Cyrus the Great exhausted in the irrigation of the level country between the Tigris and the Kerah, by which beneficent work the "extensive and fertile Sit-

* Lib. i. cap. 189.

tacenè" of Strabo was formed. But no modern eye-witness has returned to tell the present state of the river and country, "whether the dispersion of the waters still continues, or the river has regained its old or formed a new channel for its reunited waters;" and what is worse, I cannot find a single itinerary among the oriental geographers, nor route of armies in the historians, leading from the neighbourhood of Bagdat or Hillah to Sus. In Edrisi there is an itinerary between Sus and Wasith, which mentions Concut and Teib as intermediate stations, but the distances are not given. Of even the position of Wasith* we are ignorant; but I am certain that it was on the eastern bank of the Tigris, with its castle of Hejaje on the opposite side, and not on the Shat-ul-Rie, where it is seen on Arrowsmith's map. The channel of the Tigris is known, and all the knowledge derivable from that source is contained in the following passage in Kinneir's Travels in Asia: "On the south of Koote, (seven miles below the bridge before referred to,) a great part of the desert on both sides was laid under water by the overflowing of the river, the level of the country being in many places below that of the bank of the Tigris. Half-way between Koote and Korna, we passed the mouth of a river called Al Hud by the Arabs, which contained nearly as large a body of waters as the Tigris, and was about three hundred yards in breadth."†

* Wasith, in fact, is nothing but a literal translation of the word Messene, (the middle territory.)

† P. 502.

"I have been puzzled more than once concerning the origin of this stream, nor have I ever been able to gain satisfactory information respecting it. In my Persian memoir I suppose it to be the Mendali Su, or what the ancients called the Gyndes, a river drained by Cyrus. According to the Arabs, it is connected with the Kerah or Haweeza River, and they say that you can sail by canals from the Hud to the river of Sus and city of Haweeza. My friend Mr Colquhoun has proceeded a considerable way up this river, and, from the inquiries he has made, is of opinion that it is connected with the Kerah on one side, and that on the other the inundations of the Tigris discharge themselves through the Hud."*

In this state of ignorance and uncertainty, I venture to suggest, that the northern branch of the divided Gyndes might have reached the bridge over the Tigris between Susa and Babylon, and that such branch was the Physcus of Xenophon. Should this be denied, there remains ignorance enough to leave ample room for supposing that a stream large enough to represent the Physcus may, near that spot, flow from the Hamrun Hills, and empty its waters into the back inundations of the Tigris. I have at least the positive testimony of Jacuti, a Mahometan geographer of character, quoted by Golius in his notes on Alfergan, that "there are two other rivers Zabs, the lower and the upper, which flow into the Tigris between Bagdâd and Wasith."† Supposing that one is the Al Hud,

* P. 502. † P. 235.

the other may represent the Physcus. When I read that Alexander sailed down the Caroon into the Persian Gulf, and thence up the Tigris as far as Opis, that he destroyed all the cataracts on the river up to this city, that he stopped there and returned to Susa, the proof appears to me to be morally demonstrative that Alexander destroyed the cataracts only up to this bridge, that he stopped at it, sent his fleet either down the Tigris or the Shat-ul-Hie, with orders to ascend the Euphrates to Babylon, to await his arrival, and that he marched the land-army back to Susa along the great royal road.

It is not wonderful that Opis, a great city in the times of Herodotus, Xenophon, and Alexander, had become a village in Strabo's age. Though its position with respect to the Shat-ul-Hie and the Gyndes rendered it still the "emporium of the neighbouring districts," the establishment of a great commercial mart at Seleuceia, and the rendering the Tigris navigable up to it, must have ruined the prosperity of any place lower down the river. Strabo more than once repeats, that the Euphrates was navigable only up to Babylon, and the Tigris to Opis and the present Seleuceia, and that Alexander destroyed the cataracts only up to Opis. To Seleucus therefore, in all probability, must be imputed both the destruction of the stone-bridge at Opis and the clearing of the river up to Seleuceia. The destruction of the bridge and the opening of the navigation of the Tigris up to Seleuceia, would equally tend to further his favourite measures of depressing Babylon and exalting Seleuceia. Henceforwards, therefore, I shall assume

it as a fact, that the Opis of Xenophon was about seven miles above the Koote of the map. It is from this spot, therefore, that I commence the return of the Greeks up the river.

The troops under the king's illegitimate brother joined Tissaphernes, and the whole united mass returned. The change in the direction of the march is not mentioned; there was probably some deception practised, as they seem to have made an inland circuit, for we hear nothing of the Tigris for the first six days. Xenophon also omitted another most important fact, namely, that the king's brother and his Susan and Ecbatanian force became part of their convoy. The circumstance is incidentally mentioned afterwards, where the pursuers of the Greeks are described, as consisting of Tissaphernes and his troops, Orontes and his, Ariæus with the Cyreian barbarians, "and those whom the king's brother brought to the king's assistance."* Tissaphernes, therefore, after succeeding in the object of his south-eastern march, naturally changed the direction.

In six days after leaving Opis, they arrived at villages forming part of the demesne of Parysatis. Tissaphernes permitted the Greeks to plunder these, as the queen had always favoured Cyrus. Thence they marched for five days through the desert to the river Zabatus, with the Tigris on their left. I regard the Zabatus, or, properly speaking, the Zates of Xenophon, (for the former is only a conjectural emendation,) as the Diala or Dijela of the moderns. The

* Lib. iii. cap. 4.

actual distance between the mouth of this river and the bridge above Koote does not exceed 112 miles, which give ten miles and a fraction for the average rate of each day's march. Nor is this too little. The suspicions of the Greeks and the confidence of the Persians must have been much increased by the junction of the eastern force, and the want of cordiality between Clearchus and Tissaphernes must have retarded the advance. Even the plundering the villages must have caused some delay, especially as there is ground for believing, that this act of violence on the part of Clearchus, whether with or without the connivance of Tissaphernes, was a nocturnal excursion, and not a despoliation of what lay in the way. We read in a fragment of Ctesias of "the withdrawal of Clearchus and the Greeks by night, and the capture of one of the towns of Parysatis."* We may be certain that this was the version reported to the court, and hence likely a hint to Tissaphernes that he should execute his orders without further delay. These reasons and occurrences may well account for the diminution of the average progress during these eleven days.

But, before I proceed, it is only a prudent step in me to attempt to conciliate the reader, who, although in a slight degree prepared for some innovations on received ideas, may yet be shocked at the suggestion that the Zates of Xenophon is represented by the Diala, and not by the universally-received Greater Zab.

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* Schneider's Note.

Nor can I do this more effectually than by showing, not from my own measures and calculations, but from physical causes, that the Greater Zab could not have been the Zates. If this negative be proved, the positive part of the argument will be entitled to an impartial hearing.

The Greater Zab is one of the largest rivers of the second class in Asia, and not to be forded,—at least never yet forded by infantry in the neighbourhood of the Tigris. Herodotus, who first mentions it, describes it as a navigable river, or, more properly speaking, as a river requiring vessels for the purpose of crossing it, and Quintus Curtius, in narrating the anecdote so creditable to the humanity of Darius, informs us, that had that monarch, from a regard to his personal safety, destroyed the bridge over the Lycus, "all the Persians that had not reached the river would have become a prey to the enemy," which could not have been the result if the Lycus were fordable. Ebn Haukal, as translated by Sir William Ousely, says,—"Zabein, the two Zabs, are considerable streams, each about half as great as the Dejleh," (the Tigris,)—a description repeated by the Nubian, but miserably translated into Latin. But without encumbering the question with useless quotations, I shall confine myself to the testimonies of two competent eye-witnesses, Rauwolf and Niebuhr, who had no favour, prejudice, or theory on the subject. This is Rauwolf's account:—

"At break of day we came to another much larger river, by the inhabitants called Kling, if I do not mistake, and by Ptolemy Lycus, which hindered us very

much in our day's journey; for the river being very broad, at least a long mile, it was very hard to hit exactly the right ford, and not without great danger, which the Curters knew very well, so that we were also in great fear of them. But after some were found that had often before forded the river, we ventured in and got over, thanks be to God, very safe, only one ass which went over below us where the stream was stronger being drowned."* Rauwolf and all his party were on horseback.

Niebuhr and a caravan which he had joined crossed the Greater Zab on kelleks, oblong rafts supported by thirty-two inflated sheepskins, so placed as to be eight long and four broad. The raft had a very low parapet running round the edge, and was on the whole a dangerous machine. Kinneir informs us, that in the floor of the raft there are openings through which the upper part of the skins protrude, so that they can easily be inflated from the deck if that be requisite. The reader of Xenophon will be reminded by his description of a similar mode of passing the Tigris that was proposed to the Greek leaders. Niebuhr says that both he and his companions were terrified at the sight of their frail barks and of "that immense and impetuous river." "The current was extremely rapid, and I was every moment fearful that the next wave would swallow me up." "The beasts of burden had to swim across; the horses and mules swam across tolerably well; one of the kellek-men swam before

* Page 165.

them and drew after him three and sometimes four horses or mules. But it was necessary to attach a sheepskin or two to the asses, nor could one man manage to bring over more than two at a time."

Rauwolf crossed in the beginning of January, when the streams of Mount Taurus are at a low ebb; Niebuhr, in the middle of March, when the spring-swell was commencing. But even Rauwolf's account shows, that the magnificent and furious Zab, the ravenous wolf of the Macedonians, could not have been the Zates of Xenophon, about a hundred and thirty yards broad, and crossed by the Greeks without the slightest difficulty or opposition in the presence of a powerful enemy. "After this, (says Xenophon) they took their breakfast, passed the river Zates, and marched on." It ought also to be remembered, that had the Greeks crossed the Lycus, near its confluence with the Tigris, which they must have done were it the Zates, they would have found a still greater river than at the spot where Rauwolf and Niebuhr crossed it; as two streams, one of itself a very considerable river, the other not so large, form a junction with it, not far below the regular ford between Mosul and Arbela.

Is it to be supposed that Xenophon, who, between Sardes and Opis, has, to our knowledge, been most correct in noticing the considerable streams, who has given an accurate description of the proportional magnitude of the Mæander, the Cydnus, the Sarus, the Pyramus, the Chalus, the Euphrates, the Chaboras, and the Tigris, and placed them at their relative distances, should at once, on crossing the Tigris, be-

come a measureless blunderer, and the very reverse of the character of his fellow-soldier, Democrates, whom he praises, because when sent out to reconnoitre, "he used to describe things existing as existing, and things not existing as not existing."* Is it to be supposed that he omitted not only to mention the Diala, a fine and very considerable stream, but that he passed over in silence the striking peculiarities and dangerous currents of the Caprus or less Zab, (of which more hereafter,) and have so singularly reduced the dimensions and suppressed the dangers of the passage of the Lycus. I am convinced that Xenophon has not been guilty of any such blunders; they are solely attributable to the ignorance of his commentators, who have most unjustly attempted to screen their own inaccurate calculations and actual want of knowledge, by repeated charges of negligence and inaccuracies against Xenophon. I trust, however, that there still remains the power to prove that he was as accurate an observer and historian on the east, as he undoubtedly was to the west of the Tigris.

MESENÈ.

But before I accompany the Greeks across the Diala, it is necessary to say a few words on the triangular district, included by the Tigris and the Shatul-Hie, a branch from it, on two sides, and the Eu-

* Lib. iv. cap. 10.

phrates on the other. Properly speaking, it formed the southern termination of Mesopotamia; and the Greeks, from its position in the middle, between the three streams, called it Mesenè. It has, on modern maps, met with a peculiar fate; for, in the first place, it has been torn into two, and one part removed high up the Tigris into the Mesopotamian Desert, where it is called the Mesenè of Pliny; the other part is hurried down the stream and placed between the Mouth of the Shat-ul-Arab and the Khore Abdilla, under the name of the Mesenè of various other writers. The real Mesenè is in the meantime left without a name.

Mesenè, being an appellation given to this river-island by the Greeks, does not of course exist in the writings of authors prior to Alexander, nor of the biographers of Alexander. The argument of the forty-second book of Trogus Pompeius mentions, that Aretæus, a Parthian satrap, cruelly treated the Seleucian Babylonians and Mesenians. And the abridger of Strabo (I cannot find the passage in Strabo himself) writes, that "the Euphrates joins the Tigris close to Mesenè, a district of Susiana, and, after reaching the Characenè, empties itself into the Persian Gulf close to the city Teredon and Elymais, a district of Susiana." Stephanus, under the word Oratha, describes it as "a city of Mesenè in the Tigris, and Mesenè itself as a district of Persis, included between the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris;" and under the word Apameia "there is another in the territory of the Mesenians surrounded by the Tigris, where the Tigris divides itself; the stream that makes the circuit

to the right is called the Delas, the left preserves the name Tigris." Philostorgius also says, that the Tigris, with its extreme mouths separated from each other, forms an island at the same time both in the river and on the sea, which a nation called Mesenians inhabits.* And finally, Ammianus, when marching down the Royal River, says that the whole country was covered with fruit of all kinds, "even down to Mesenè and the sea." All these authors evidently describe the same triangular district. It is in the Tigris, because included within two branches of that river; it is between the Tigris and the Euphrates, because the latter river washes one of its three sides; it is between Seleuceia and the sea, and the Tigris and the Euphrates meet at its southern termination; and if any one be moved by the assertion of Philostorgius, that it was maritime as well as a river-island, it may be answered, (if the authority of such a writer be worth regarding,) that the tide, to this day, runs up on both sides of Mesenè to a considerable distance. Ignorance of the magnificent estuary of the Shat-ul-Arab, and the long cherished belief that the Euphrates and the Tigris entered the gulf by different mouths, ten of which Pliny assigns to the Tigris alone, led geographers into other serious errors, as well as that of transferring Mesenè to the shores of the gulf. The account quoted above from the abridger of Strabo, with the trifling exception, that he assigns Mes-

* Lib. iii. cap. 7.

enè to Susiana, is one of the correctest descriptions of the course of the Euphrates below Babylon that can be found in ancient authors. As to the Apameia, called by Ammianus the Apameia of Mesenè, and said by Stephanus to be in Mesenè, I must say that I prefer Ptolemy's authority, which says it was near Mesenè; such a position would procure the surname, and to expect two of the same name so close to each other would be idle.

The question respecting the Mesenè of the Mesopotamian Desert is more complex, as the mistake depends on a strange and unintelligible passage in Pliny: "The Tigris, after receiving the famous rivers Parthenia and Nicephorion, separates the Arabs Orei and the Adiabeni, traverses the mountains of the Gordyæi, and in the neighbourhood of Apameia, a town of Mesenè, a hundred and twenty miles this side of the Babylonian Seleuceia, divides into two channels. With one it makes for Seleuceia and the south, irrigating Mesenè; with the other, turning to the north, it cuts from behind the Cauchæ Plains of the same nation. When the waters have rejoined, it is called the Pasitigris."*

D'Anville, availing himself of this most corrupted passage, writes, "According to our actual knowledge, it is at a short distance below Senn that the Tigris opening on its right bank a canal called Digheil, as being the diminutive of Dighl, encloses a space of ground that extends in length to the vicinity of Bag-

* Lib. v. cap. 18.

dat. This is the district which we find among the ancients called Mesenè, the name of which we find in Pliny. As this canal is not better known to those who have treated the subject of Modern Geography, than it was to Stephanus of Byzantium, who assigns the name of Mesenè to the whole space intervening between the Tigris and the Euphrates, there existed no means of dissipating the obscurity in which the subject was supposed to be involved. At the angle formed by the division of the branching of the Tigris, there was a city called Apameia, after the mother of Antiochus Soter, the first of the Seleucidæ who bore that name. Pliny well knew the situation, as he says 'Tigris circumfluit;' and his additional expression, 'Hæc dividitur Archoo,' would appear to indicate the name of a canal formed by the division of the river."*

I am sorry to say, that as D'Anville did not refer to the source of his actual knowledge of the abovementioned division of the Tigris, I have been unable to procure it for myself; but I entertain the strongest suspicions that his authority is the following passage from Edrisi:—"Near Takrit the river Dojiail, *i. e.* Little Tigris, separates itself from the Tigris, and, intersecting its borders, branches out into the territory of Sorra-Man-Rai, and irrigates it even to the parts near Bagdat."† So that this Dojiail, or Digheil, was nothing more than a canal formed by the Khalif Motassem, for the conveniency of his new ca-

* Lib. vi. cap. 27. † P. 200.

pital at Samereh, or Sorra-Man-Rai, and that it branched to the left into Assyria, and not to the right into Mesopotamia. There does exist a natural division of the Tigris in this neighbourhood, but the circuit is very short, and only a very insignificant island is included. But it would be absurd to call this Mesenè.

Kinneir's description of the Tigris in this vicinity is interesting: "Samara, the ancient Samere, was the favourite residence of several Caliphs of the house of Abbas, and the remains of the ancient city still cover a large extent of ground." "Great part of the walls of the city are also to be seen, and reach a considerable way into the desert. It is difficult to imagine how such a spot could ever have been selected as the site of the capital of a powerful prince; the country on every side, as far as the eye can perceive, is a parched and pathless wilderness, without a tree or even a shrub." "It is true, with respect to Irak Arabi, that where water can be brought verdure will soon appear; but here the banks are high, and the Tigris broad and shallow, consequently irrigation must always have been attended with difficulty."* I have no hesitation, therefore, in affirming, that there was no such division of the Tigris in this neighbourhood, as indicated on modern maps; that the Little Tigris, when flowing, was an Assyrian canal, consequently that there was no Apameia,

* P. 471.

no Mesenè in this district. Pliny was acquainted with the real position of Mesenè and Apameia, as can be proved from a passage lower down in the same chapter: "Between these nations (Persis and Chalonitis) and Mesenè is placed Sittacenè." "This town, the Sittacè of the Greeks, is to the east of the Tigris (the course of which he is describing) and Sabata; but to the west is Antiocheia, between the two rivers Tigris and Tornadotus; likewise Apameia, to which Antiochus gave the name of his mother. The Tigris flows round this; it is divided by the Archous. Below is Susiana." In this translation I follow the marginal reading, as the text is not grammar, as any scholar may easily see: "Ab occasu autem Antiocheia inter duo flumina, Tigrin et Tornadotum. Item Apamèia cui nomen Antiochus matris suæ imposuit, Tigris circumfunditur. Hæc dividitur Archoo." The margin places the stop at imposuit, and reads "Tigris circumfunditur huic, dividitur Archoo." According to this reading the Apameia of Ptolemy and of Pliny are reconciled, as the former had no doubt a fosse from the Tigris to protect its western side, and the Tornadotus of Pliny must be one of his barbarous appellations for the Royal River. If such be the case, it may be asked what is to be done with the passage that has caused this confusion in the map of Mesopotamia. Perhaps Pliny's credit may be saved by the following reading:—

"Tigris autem, ex Armenia acceptis fluminibus claris Parthenia ac Nicephorione, Arabas Oreos Adiabenosque disterminans, et quam diximus Mesopota-

mian faciens, lustratis montibus Gordyæorum, circa Apameiam Messenes oppidum infra Seleuceiam Babyloniam 125 m. pass. divisus in duos alveos; altero Meridiem ac Susianen petit, Mesenen perfundens: altero, ad septemtrionem flexus, ejusdem gentis tergo campos Cauchas secat. Ubi remeavere aquæ Pasitigris appellatur."

The only changes are infra for citra, (and not without reason, as citra would, in Pliny, mean to the west, and not to the north,) and Susianen for Seleuceiam, a mistake which a transcriber who had written Seleuceiam in the same part of the line immediately preceding was likely to commit. The only remaining absurdity is "ad septemtrionem," for no river flowing from north to south could send one branch directly south and another directly north. But I have no remedy for this mistake, for such it evidently is. It ought to be mentioned, that the Pasitigris of Pliny is the Shat-ul-Arab, formed by the united waters of the Euphrates, Shat-ul-Hie, and Tigris. "After this (Pliny proceeds) it receives the Choaspes from Media," which the Shat-ul-Arab does below Mesenè.

THE DIALA.

The five days' march between the villages of Parysatis and the Zates are described as being through the desert; and such, at this day, is the region immediately to the south of the mouth of the Diala. Kin-

neir, after passing the ruins of Seleuceia and Ctesiphon, in sailing down the Tigris, says, "From this to Koote the country on both sides the river was an uninhabited desert."*

The only object noticed by Xenophon during the five days was Cænæ, a large city on the western bank of the Tigris. Nothing more is known of it. It might have been the Cochè mentioned before. The position and the distance would suit, and the ρ of Xenophon might have originally been a κ. The size of the Diala corresponds with the description of Xenophon. It is more than a hundred yards broad, not very deep, with a clear gravelly bottom.

I again repeat that no part of Asia is more unknown to modern Europeans than the country bounded by the Diala on the north, the Tigris on the west, the Kerah on the south, and Mount Zagros to the east. It seems to be the haunt of wild beasts, or of men as ravenous and ferocious as the beasts of prey. I regard the Silla, the Synnè, and the imaginary course of the Mendali Su as laid down on the map from pure conjecture.† And perhaps I could prove that Nezereth and Mendali occupy their respective spots entirely from the misunderstanding of a passage

* Page 500.

† I may add in a note that I was once convinced not only of the identity of the river of Kermanshah, and of the Mendali Su, but of my power to prove it. But I have lost the clue, although my conviction of their identity still remains.

in Hanway's Nadir Shah. But I must not forget that my business is comparative and not positive geography.

The Greeks after crossing the Zates arrived at the place where they could no longer march along the Tigris, on account of the precipitous nature of its banks, by the following stages :—

	DAYS.
Skirmishing with Mithridates, -	1
Larissa, - - -	1
Mespila, - - -	1
Skirmishing with Tissaphernes, -	1
March under the new arrangement,	4
Across hills into villages in the plain,	1
Halt when overtaken, and march by night, - - -	1
March without being overtaken, -	2
Force their way into the plain, -	1
	13

The spot where their farther progress was arrested was, as I believe I shall be able to show, at the point where the Hamrun Hills strike on the left bank of the Tigris. The map-distance between the mouth of the Diala and this spot is one hundred and twenty miles, which, divided by thirteen, give something more for the daily rate of progress than nine miles; but when we take into consideration that they did not march full three miles the first day, and that, with the exception of the third, eleventh, and twelfth days, they were engaged in incessant fighting as well as march-

ing, the wonder is that their progress was so great. We have before seen, that the daily advance of the Roman army under Antony did not, under similar circumstances, exceed eight miles. According to this admeasurement, Bagdat occupies the site of the ancient Larissa. Twelve miles higher up was the still larger Mespila, most probably at Dokhara, on the Little Diala, as Mr Kinneir says that this has the reputation of being the most fertile district in Assyria. As Bagdat occupies the site of Larissa, and so many great cities have arisen and fallen on the left bank of the Tigris since the ruins of Mespila were seen by Xenophon, it would be idle to expect many visible proofs of the former existence of these Median cities. But should the state of the country ever so change as to allow the peaceful researches of the antiquary, some future excavator may yet discover the site of Mespila, by "the hewn and shell-streaked marble of its foundations." It ought to be remarked, that Xenophon confounds the Assyria of later writers with Media, or, more properly speaking, that the latter is by him substituted for the former; I, consequently, regard Larissa and Mespila as cognate cities of Ninus and Babylon, as it can be easily proved from history that the Medes, during their short sovereignty, did not colonize the country between Mount Zagros and the Tigris. Hence the neglect and desolation of these splendid seats of Assyrian civilization.

On the ninth day the Greeks crossed some ridges of hills, and encamped in a village on the side of one of them. On the thirteenth they had to clear a mountain of the enemy posted upon it, and who thus

commanded the descent into the last plain. The first range of hills is distinctly laid down in Niebuhr's chart of this part of his route, and the final obstruction was evidently where the Hamrun Hills are intersected by the Tigris.

But to understand the subject better, it will be useful to recur to Ammianus and Zosimus, and show how the Romans, after Julian's death, by marching up the Tigris, arrived at a situation precisely similar to that in which the Greeks had entangled themselves.

As Julian crossed the Tigris below Ctesiphon, his fleet could not have passed up the river except that city was captured; besides that impediment, the summer solstice had arrived, when the great inundation of the Tigris takes place, during which it would have been impossible even to drag the fleet against the current. That he attempted this is clear from the account of Zosimus, who describes him as making one stage to Abagatha before the destruction of the ships became the subject of deliberation, and he lingered at this place for five days before the resolution was finally adopted and put in execution. He had no choice left, and he burnt the fleet simply to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy. His war of extermination and destruction had rendered it impossible for him to retrace his steps, as all behind was a blackened desert, except in the immediate vicinity of those strong-holds, which, as being impregnable, he had left unassailed. A bloodier warrior, a more merciless invader, than this would-be-philosopher, but in reality most superstitious pagan, never devastated the

plains of Asia; and great indeed must have been the merit of his apostacy in the eyes of Gibbon, since it induced him to employ all his eloquence and sophistry to throw a veil of glory over his atrocious deeds. But his rashness and cruelty had left him no alternative between perishing and forcing his way into Upper Assyria, and there receiving succours from his lieutenant-generals. This he attempted and failed. In two days after leaving Abagatha he reached the banks of the Diala, over which he threw a bridge. Zosimus calls it the Durus. In two more stages the army arrived at a village called Hucumbra by Ammianus, Symbra by Zosimus, situated on the Tigris,—a circumstance that proves that the only circuit in an inland-direction taken by the army was for the purpose of not giving the garrison of Ctesiphon an opportunity of attacking the army in the rear. From Symbra they marched up the stream by the towns Danabè, Synca, Acceta, and Maromsa, all equally unknown, but which, with the other splendid cities either past or captured by Julian on his previous march, show that the princes of the house of Sassan were wise and beneficent monarchs, and zealous practisers of the precepts of Zoroaster. The next stage, according to Zosimus, was Tummaras, probably the Sumere of Ammianus; the latter, beyond a doubt, is Sorraman-rai, or Samin-ra of the Arabian geographers, and which has been before mentioned. It is now called Samara, or Samereh, either by an abridgment of its Arabian or by the adoption of its ancient name; as Jacutus, quoted by Golius, writes, that the city of Motassem "was built on the site of an ancient town

called Samira."* It was on the plain about twelve miles to the south of Samara that Julian was mortally wounded. I have already quoted a part of Kinneir's description of "this parched and pathless wilderness, without a tree or even shrub to afford the smallest relief from the excessive glare occasioned by the reflection of the sun upon the sands." It was the noontide heat of an Assyrian sun that, in such a scene, compelled Julian to throw aside his breastplate, and expose himself to the fatal blow; for, according to Zonaras, "he had by chance taken off his breastplate on account of its weight and the burning sun." This event took place on the twenty-sixth of June, A. D. 363. They had crossed the Diala and commenced their march up the Tigris on the sixteenth of the same month, and had rested at Hucumbra for two days. The remaining nine were spent in marching from the Diala to the fatal field.

On the fourth day's actual march from that spot they arrived at the point where their further progress was finally arrested; consequently both Greeks and Romans traversed the intermediate space in the same interval of time. The Romans were actually sixteen days between the two points, during three of which they did not advance. On the twenty-seventh they remained on the field of battle. On the twenty-eighth, after a bloody and destructive contest, they reached Sumere, or Samara; thence they marched, "next day, (29th,) and encamped in an open valley, considering the na-

* P. 130.

ture of the ground, shut in on every side, as it were, with an enclosing wall." (Valle velut murali ambitu circumclausa.) On the thirtieth, "having extricated ourselves (egressi not progressi) from that spot, we occupied a place called Charcha." During this day's march they were not molested. "On the first of July, as we were, after marching thirty miles, approaching a city called Dura," the rear was attacked, and the army was obliged to halt. "In this place four days were spent, on account of the persevering attacks, (obstinatione,) of the Persians." They then attempted to cross the Tigris, and 500 Gauls and Sarmatians succeeded in the attempt; but all their endeavours to form rafts, supported on inflated skins, failed. "In the mean time, when the force of the current would not allow bridges to be constructed, and every eatable was consumed, and two more days spent miserably, the soldiers became frantic with indignation and rage." From this it is clear, that it was the nature of the ground that enabled the Persians to prevent their further advance; for had not that been the case, no advantage could have been gained by crossing the Tigris. The plains of Mesopotamia are far more favourable for the operations of a Persian army than the rugged ground which the Romans had gained during the last three days. But, with the fortress of Dura in front, and the adjacent hills lined with Persian troops, and the impassable Tigris on their left, their only choice was submission or starvation. On consulting the map, it will be seen, that the Hamrun Hills, after running parallel with the Tigris for some distance, suddenly turn to the

left, and thus form a natural cul-de-sac. I can almost affirm, that the Romans were in the exact position occupied by the Greeks previous to their ascent into the mountainous regions of the Carduchi; and had Tissaphernes occupied the passes, as dreaded by the Greeks, the result must have proved something similar.

It was want of food, not the enemy's darts, that subdued the Romans. That I am right in ascribing their final stoppage to the nature of the ground is evident from the description of their retreat: "On our return by another road, in order to avoid the precipitous and rugged ground, (confragosa et aspera,) contiguous to the river, we were hard pressed by hunger and thirst." The object of this back-march was to reach the Tigris in the neighbourhood of Samara, where the river, on emerging from between the hills, spreads, and allowed them to cross in their few remaining vessels. This road by which they did return was probably partly along the main road betwen Samara and Kerkook, and the first part of it the very path by which Tissaphernes and his army, after a short disappearance, came suddenly on the flank of the Greeks from the right.

With these impressions, I cannot sufficiently admire the complacency with which good scholars and men of sense and information have drawn an imaginary line between Samara and the mouth of the Greater Zab to represent the road through the desert traversed by the Greeks during the five days immediately preceding their arrival on the banks of the Zates. For, as far as I have been able to discover, such a line of

road never existed, nor has it been attempted by armies or caravans, or even single travellers; and a recapitulation of a few of the most important expeditions from Western Asia against the capitals on the Tigris and the Euphrates, and the reverse, will serve to show this.

Next, in order of time, to the expedition of Cyrus comes the invasion of Persia by Alexander. This conqueror crossed the Euphrates on two bridges opposite Racca, and marched, as Arrian describes it, "with the Euphrates and mountains of Armenia on his left hand through Mesopotamia. He did not move straight upon Babylon on commencing his march from the banks of the Euphrates, because the other road was in all respects better adapted for the advance of an army, as forage for the horses and provisions could be obtained from the country, and the heat was not so oppressive." There is not a single fact recorded of his march between the Euphrates and the Tigris, although, as he crossed the former river in June, and the battle of Arbela was not fought until October, his transactions there must have been considerable. As he could not throw a bridge over the Tigris in the face of the powerful force on the eastern bank, he had to wait for the fall of the river, when a stolen march might enable him to cross without opposition. This he finally accomplished, although not without great danger, and in four days arrived within half a day's march of Dareius, who was encamped on the banks of the Bumadus, the modern Hazir Su. From the relative distances between this spot and Beled, compared with

the average rate of the daily progress of a Macedonian army, it may safely be inferred that Alexander crossed the Tigris at Beled, also called Eski Mosul. After his victory he crossed the Lycus or Great Zab, and captured Arbela. The only other stage on his road to Babylon recorded by his historians is the Naphtha Pits, before described as still existing in the neighbourhood of Kerkook. The map-distance between Arbela and the Pits is forty-five miles, which, divided by the four days employed by the Macedonian army in traversing it, give eleven miles and a quarter for the rate of each day's march.

The famous eastern expedition of Trajan, if minutely described, would have thrown much light upon this question; but unfortunately I cannot find it recorded by any writer now extant, but Xiphilinus the Trapezuntine, the abridger of the compilation of Dion Cassius. Dion Cassius himself writes too generally, and with too little attention to geography and chronology. These faults must of course be usually magnified in an abridgment of his work; but still I am inclined to believe that the inhabitant of Trapezus curtailed less in his narration of oriental transactions.

Trajan, in previous campaigns, had captured Batnæ, Edessa, Nisibis, and Singara; so that the road through Mesopotamia was open to him. "With the spring, Trajan prepared to invade the enemy's territory; and as the country on the banks of the Tigris does not bear timber fit for ship-building, he built vessels in the woods near Nisibis, and conveyed them on carriages to the river; for they were so con-

structed as easily to be pulled to pieces and rejoined. On these, with the greatest difficulty, he threw a bridge over the Tigris, close to the hill Cardynus." "The Romans passed over and subdued all Adiabenè (this is a part of the Assyria round Ninus) and Arbela and Gaugamela, near which places Alexander conquered Darius. These also are towns of Assyria, also called Aturia by the barbaric change of the double s into t."

From this place Xiphilinus conducts him straight to Babylon, "where he saw the Bitumen," of which he gives a long description; but, as will be seen from the context, the insertion of Babylon in this place was a fiction either of Dion or of Xiphilinus, in whose minds bitumen and the walls of Babylon were inseparably connected. The bitumen seen by Trajan at this point was the Naphtha Pits of Alexander in the neighbourhood of Kerkook. Hence it is clear that, though provided with a fleet, Trajan's land-army had made the usual detour by Arbela and Kerkook, in order to avoid the desert on the western and the asperities on the eastern bank of the Tigris, between Mosul and Samara. But the premature introduction of Babylon was fatal to the plans of Xiphilinus, who, forgetting that the fleet was in the Tigris and the army on the eastern bank, thus proceeds: "Trajan wished to introduce the Euphrates by a canal into the Tigris, that his vessels having sailed along it might enable him to build a bridge; but on learning that the level of the Euphrates was much higher than that of the Tigris, he did not do this, as he feared to destroy the navigation of the

Euphrates, were its waters to pour down in a torrent over the declivity. He therefore drew his ships across the very narrow intervening space, (as the stream of the Euphrates entirely discharges itself into a marsh, and thence partially or by some means joins the Tigris,) passed the Tigris, and entered Ctesiphon. On the capture of it he was saluted Imperator."

If we reverse this account, and say, that after Trajan had captured Ctesiphon on the eastern bank, he threw his troops across the Tigris, and conveyed his fleet by a canal, which he really cut, (for there were too many of these existing, or at least had existed, to allow a man like Trajan to entertain any absurd apprehensions,) into the Royal River for the purpose of besieging Seleuceia, the account will resume the original form of the narration, which the compilers have thus mangled.

"After the capture of Ctesiphon, Trajan desired to sail down the Erythreian Sea. This is a portion of the ocean, and was thus named from a native prince. Trajan without trouble made himself master of the island Mesenè in the Tigris, of which Athambilus was king. But he incurred some risk from a storm, the rapidity of the Tigris, and the ocean-tide. The inhabitants of Charax Spasini, also subjects of Athambilus, gave him a friendly reception. Thence he visited the ocean itself, (the Persian Gulf,) and examined its nature, and, on seeing a vessel sailing for India, exclaimed, "Were I young, I would sail there myself!"

After a few reflections on his wish for more and his

inability to retain what he had acquired, Xiphilinus goes on,—" While Trajan was thus employed in sailing down the ocean and sailing up again, all his conquests were thrown into confusion, and revolted, after the inhabitants had either expelled or slaughtered his garrisons. On learning these things at *Babylon*, (for ὐ πλοίῳ read unhesitatingly ὐ Βαβυλῶνι,) for he had sailed thither also, both on account of its renown, nothing corresponding with which did he see but mounds, fables, and ruins, and on account of Alexander, to whom he sacrificed in the house wherein he had died. On learning these things, he sent Lucius and Maximus against the revolters, and the latter died, being defeated in battle; but Lucius was successful, and recovered Nisibis,—took Edessa by storm, destroyed and burnt it. Seleuceia was also taken and burnt by his lieutenants, Erucius Clarus and Julius Alexander."

Independent of the unwarrantable junction of Babylon with the Bitumen Pits, the desperate attempt to remedy that misunderstanding, and the consequent suppression of the name of Babylon in its proper place, the whole narrative is consistent and accurate. Trajan marches across Mesopotamia, builds vessels in the forests of Nisibis, transports them to the Tigris, throws a bridge of boats across the river at Eski Mosul, where the Gordyenian Hills approach its eastern bank, marches with his land-army through Gaugamela, Arbela, and by the Bitumen Pits to the plains of Assyria, while his fleet descends the Tigris; he then attacks and captures Ctesiphon with his united forces, conveys his troops to the western bank, and

his fleet by a canal into the Royal River, and invests Seleuceia on all sides, intrusts the management of the siege to his lieutenants, sails down the Tigris, subdues Mesenè, visits the Persian Gulf, sails up the Shat-ul-Arab, and thence up the Euphrates to the ruins of Babylon. Here he is informed that his line of fortresses in Mesopotamia had fallen into the enemy's hands. On this he sends two expeditions to recover them; one fails, the other succeeds, and in the mean time Seleuceia falls, and is burnt to the ground. It is difficult to say by what line he returned, after giving a nominal king to the Parthians, but in all probability up the Euphrates, as his tribunal was shown to Julian and his army at Zaragarda or Ozogardana on that river. Previous to his retreat he had failed to capture Hatræ or Atræ, a city in the Mesopotamian Desert, of the position of which more hereafter.

I cannot find any notices of the course of Avidius Cassius, who, as the lieutenant of Lucius Verus, defeated Vologeses in the field, took and destroyed Seleuceia and Ctesiphon, but suffered much in his retreat from want and disease. These few facts alone are commemorated.

The successful invasion of the Persian empire by Severus is more particularly described by Herodian, and a few additional circumstances may be gleaned from Ælius Spartianus. But these are wretched historians. Although Herodian's style is tolerable, yet his ignorance is great, and his folly still greater, as may be easily gathered from the following circumstances: Ælius Spartianus informs us that Severus

passed over from Italy at the head of his army into Syria, " whence he drove the Parthians (most likely into Mesopotamia, where he followed them; for in the next sentence he adds,)—But he after that returned into Syria, that he might make preparations, and invade the Parthians." " He entered Parthia at the end of the summer, defeated the king, arrived at Ctesiphon, and took it even in the winter season, (because wars are easier carried on during winter in those regions,) although his soldiers lived on roots, and thence contracted various diseases. Therefore, although from the resistance of the Parthians, and the dysentery caused in his army by their change of diet, he was unable to advance further, he nevertheless persisted, took the town, put the king to flight, slew an immense number, and earned the surname of Parthicus." And as he also obtained the name of Adiabenus in this campaign, we may be certain that he, like Trajan, had invaded Assyria by the line indicated by Alexander. The facts recorded by Spartianus are clear: The Parthians had invaded and taken possession of Syria, while Severus was contending against Albinus. The former marches to the east after his victory, drives the Parthians out of Syria in the first campaign, and in the course of a second invades Parthia, and takes the capital. After this explanation I give the sophist's version of the events, believed, I doubt not, by many of the partizans of Niger and Albinus:—

" Severus, wishing to erect trophies over barbarians, alleging as a pretence the alliance of Barsenias, king of the Atrenians, with Niger, made an expedition against

the east. When he arrived, and was preparing to overrun Armenia, he was anticipated by the Armenian king, who, supplicating, sent money-gifts and hostages, and promised alliance and good-will. When affairs in Armenia had thus succeeded according to his wishes, Severus hastened his preparations against the Atrenians. Abgarus, king of Osdroenè, also took refuge with him, and having given his sons as hostages to ensure his fidelity, conducted a large body of archers as auxiliaries.

"But Severus traversed Mesopotamia and Adiabenè, overran Arabia Felix, (so called because it produces fragrant herbs, which we use as aromatics and incense,) and, after having destroyed many villages and towns, and having ravaged the country, entered the territory of the Atreni, and laid siege to Atræ. The city was situated on the summit of a very lofty hill. It was surrounded with high and strong walls, and abounded with archers." After describing the successful defence of the place by the inhabitants, Herodian proceeds,—"Severus, that the whole army might escape destruction, withdrew without attaining his object, disappointed that the siege had not terminated according to his wish; for, being always accustomed to conquer in battle, he regarded a disappointment as a defeat. Fortune, however, favouring his cause, soon consoled him, for he did not return baffled on all points, but successful even beyond his hopes; for as the army sailed down in numerous ships, it was not carried to the Roman bank as he intended, but, being hurried to a considerable distance by the current, was driven on the Parthian

bank on a place not many days' march distant from Ctesiphon, the royal residence of the Parthian, who was living in peace, thinking that the war of Severus and the Atrenian did not concern him. He was therefore quiet, and expected no attack.

"But the army of Severus, being unwillingly carried to the opposite bank, landed there, ravaged the country, seized all the cattle they could find for provision, and burnt all the villages in their way. Then advancing by degrees, the Romans arrived at Ctesiphon, where dwelt the great King Artabanus. There they made a sudden assault on the unsuspecting barbarians, slew every man they met, plundered the city, and made all the women and children captive; and although the king escaped with a few horsemen, his treasure was seized, and all his ornaments and precious furniture carried away. Thus Severus, more by chance than prudence, obtained the victory over the Parthians."*

Had we not full proofs in our own day of the blinding effects of party-spirit, and of the strange means adopted by faction for the purpose of depressing the merit of every individual connected with the opposite party, and detracting from success by the absurd charge of chance or good fortune, the real features of the Parthian campaigns of Severus could hardly be recognized in Herodian's statement.

With the assistance of Spartianus, they are, however, easily recovered. Severus followed the steps of

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* Lib. xxiii. cap. 27.

Trajan in every particular: crossed Mesopotamia, launched a fleet on the Tigris, marched his land-troops through Adiabenè along the regular road, and, after an incursion into that part of Mesopotamia which was occupied by the Scenite Arabs, resumed his course down the Tigris, defeated the Parthians in battle, besieged, and, after an obstinate defence, took the capital, with all the royal treasures, and, what is more singular, brought his army back without any serious loss in the retreat. That he succeeded to a certain extent in his attack upon Hatræ admits of no doubt. In all probability he was contented with bringing the Hatrenian prince to terms, as he had the Osdroenian and Armenian. Had this not been the case, he could not have advanced upon Ctesiphon; nor would Severus, without adequate success, have adopted the title of Arabicus, which, at the close of his expedition, he added to his other titles.

His long continuance in Britain is a proof how completely he had subdued the East. But there still remains a very interesting question connected with the geography of the expeditions of Trajan, Severus, and Julian, namely the position of

HATRÆ.

"Babylonia," according to Strabo, "was bounded on the west by the Scenite Arabs," and, with respect to Mesopotamia, he says, "That part of Mesopotamia which inclines to the south, and is more remote from the mountains, being without water, and an ungrate-

ful soil, is possessed by the Scenite Arabs leading a marauding and pastoral life, and easily quitting their habitations when pasture and plunder fail."* It seems that some of those tribes discovered that it would be more profitable to encourage caravans than to plunder them, and that a regular revenue was better than a more valuable chance booty. Hence a great part of the trade between Syria and Seleuceia passed through their country. "The route of the merchants, after crossing the Euphrates, is through the desert as far as Scenæ, (or the Tents,) a respectable city, situated on the borders of Babylonia on a canal. The distance between the Euphrates (Bir) and Scenæ is twenty-five days' journey." "The Scenites receive them peacefully, and exact a moderate toll; on which account they avoid the neighbourhood of the river, and expose themselves to the desert, leaving the river about three days' journey on the right; for the Arab chiefs on both banks, possessing but a barren territory, and cultivating the less on that account, and each clothed with separate sovereign power, exact an oppressive toll; for, among so many selfish characters, it is difficult to agree on a common standard that would leave any profit for the merchant. Scenæ is eighteen schœni distant from Seleuceia."†

I have quoted these passages in order to account for the origin of a city in those deserts which drew upon itself in succession the arms of two of the most

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* Lib. xvi. c. 1. † Strabo, ib.

warlike and powerful Roman emperors,—a city which may well challenge the name of the Mesopotamian Palmyra. The adjacent country is thus described by Xiphilinus :—" The neighbouring country is principally a desert. Water is scarce and brackish. There is neither wood nor herbage. From these circumstances it is impossible for a large army to lie long under its walls; and, in addition to all, it is protected by the sun, to which it is exposed; so that it was not taken then by Trajan nor afterwards by Severus, although they had battered down a considerable portion of its walls."*

We hear no more of Hatræ until visited by the retreating army of Julian, who, after crossing the Tigris, " hurried forwards by forced marches, and arrived at Hatra, an ancient town situated in the middle of the desert, and long ago deserted. Trajan and Severus at different periods attempted its destruction; but these warlike princes, together with their armies, were nearly destroyed, as I have narrated in their history. Here we learned that the plain before us extended for seventy miles over parched regions, where no water but what was brackish and noisome could be found, and no food except abrotonum, absinthium, dracontium, and other most bitter herbs. We therefore filled our vessels with sweet water, and provided food, however unwholesome, by slaughtering the camels and beasts of burden. When we had travelled for six days, and even herbs, our last resource,

* Trajan.

could no more be found, Cassianus, the military chief of Mesopotamia and Mauricius, long before sent for this purpose, met us at Ur, a Persian fort, and brought with them those provisions which the army, left under the command of Procopius and Sebastianus, had economically spared." "Setting out thence, we arrived at Thisalphata;" "and then quickened our pace, and with delight saw Nisibis."

With these descriptions, it would not be difficult to find the relative position of Hatræ, if we could trust the map of the intermediate parts of Mesopotamia. But this cannot be done, unfortunately, as the figures delineated on it are no better than romance. Were the map right, it must instantly strike the most superficial reader, that the Romans from the neighbourhood of Samara would have crossed the desert in order to avail themselves of the beautiful vale watered by the imaginary Singar River, along which they could proceed, without hunger or thirst, till, in tracing its upward course, they arrived under the walls of Nisibis. As the country was well known to them, and many of the veterans had doubtless been present in the bloody struggles between the Persians and Romans at the sieges of Singara, during the later years of Constantius, their non-adoption of this line cannot be imputed to ignorance. In fact, Ammianus, who had served with much personal danger to himself in these campaigns, knew that no such stream flowed from Nisibis to Singara; for, after relating the capture of Singara and its garrison, he adds,—"All the soldiers were led away prisoners, with their hands tied behind their backs,

without Roman aid, as the greater part of our army, encamped in tents, was guarding Nisibis far distant. Besides this, no general, even in ancient times, was ever able to succour Singara in its distress, as the whole surrounding territory was parched with want of water. And although antiquity placed that fortress opportunely for the purpose of early discovering any sudden motions of the enemy, yet its frequent capture, together with the loss of the garrison, proved hurtful to the Roman state."* From this statement it is clear that Singara was not placed on the united stream of the waters of Nisibis; and it is as clear that it could not have been so close to the Tigris as it is laid down in the map. The Arabian geographers quoted by Golius placed it as far to the west, and immediately to the south of Nisibis, "which is more to the north than the city Singiar, the Singara of Ptolemy, placed by them in the middle of the desert of Diar-Rabæa, near a fertile mountain, three days' journey to the west of Mosul."† Singiar must consequently be deprived of its perennial stream, placed in the centre of the desert considerably more to the west than its present position, and be contented with its own numerous streams, which, flowing down on all sides from its remarkable mountain, after fertilizing the immediate vicinity, lose themselves in the sands. If it be asked what became of the waters of Nisibis, Niebuhr's chart gives a satisfactory answer, as all the different streams take

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* Lib. xx. † P. 230.

a south-west course, which must carry them into the Khabour, far to the west of the isolated Singiar Mountain. " Nisibis (says Niebuhr) is situated on the west of a small river, which sometimes swells and becomes very considerable. Many other petty streams indicated on my itinerary-map join it. Afterwards their united waters are discharged into the Khabour, and finally, together with it, into the Euphrates."*

But although I have thus deprived Singiar of the waters of the Hirmâs or Mygdonius, yet it had a stream of its own called the Al Havali, thus described by Edrisi: " Singiar is situated in the desert to the west of the city Balad, at the foot of a certain hill. Near it is found Al Havali, one of the rivers of Diar-Rabæa."† Nor have I the slightest doubt that this Al Havali is the upper part of the course of the Saocoras or Maskas. Abulfeda, according to D'Anville, says that " a canal, by name Tirtar, was drawn from Havali, and, after traversing the desert of Singiar, communicated with the Tigris near Tecrit,"‡ If the waters were thus diverted to the east, some reason can be assigned why the Saocoras does not occupy a more prominent place among the Arabian geographers. On the supposition, also, that the waters of Mount Singara united and formed the Saocoras, we see how it was far easier for the Persians, who occupied the mouth of that river on the Euphrates, to march up along its bank and successfully attack Singara itself than for the Romans to succour it, as their approaches must necessarily be from the desert.

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* P. 303. † P. 201. ‡ P. 50.

Having thus cleared the way, and removed a difficulty which rendered the retreat of Julian's army through the desert perfectly unintelligible, I return to Hatræ. Edrisi enumerates Hadthar among the cities of Jesirah, and classes it next to Singiar.* In another place he fixes its locality by saying, "Tacrith is one of the cities of Mausil, (or Diar-Rabæa.) It is on the west of the Tigris, and opposite to it, inland, (in mediterraneo,) is the city Hadthar."† To which the Turkish geographer, quoted by D'Anville, adds that it was on the verge of the desert, a circumstance that identifies it with the Hatra of Ammianus. Hatræ consequently was on the edge of the desert, to the west of Tecrit, and not very far from the Tigris, if we can trust to its position under the name of Hatris, in the Peutingerian Tables. It was well furnished with water, otherwise the army of Julian could never have provided itself with water sufficient to cross the desert. Even when encamped, after the death of Julian, the troops extended over four miles of ground. The desert, estimated by Ammianus at seventy miles, and traversed by them in six days, is the same desert before mentioned, as intervening between Mosul and Seleuceia, and which, according to Zeuxis, the general of Antiochus, would require six days to cross.

I know nothing of Ur and Thisalphata, further than that Ur may be certainly placed at a distance of seventy miles from Hatræ, but in what exact direction

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* P. 198. † P. 200.

I have not the means of ascertaining. On referring to the map, it will be seen, that Hatræ occupies a far different place from the one assigned to it by me, and by D'Anville before me. The reason of this position, in all probability, is the following passage from Niebuhr:—"Some Arabs of the tribe Tai assured me, that at the distance of two days' journey from Mosul, on the road to Anah, on the Euphrates, there were still existing many ruins of a large city called Hoddur, and that under these ruins there were many petrified corpses."* Then follow all the usual Arab descriptions of these petrified cities. The tradition deserves attention; and although the two days' journey is far too little, yet still the Hoddur of the Arabs may be Hatræ. The line of road to Anah would suit, and a mistake in numbers is a melancholy truth with which every comparative geographer is too well acquainted, and at which he cannot feel surprise. Until the numerals called Arabic were invented, there was no certainty in the transcription of numbers except written in words.

The African dynasty has been unfortunate in its historians. Antoninus, surnamed Caracalla, invaded Parthia with success, crossed both rivers, and routed Artabanus under the walls of his capital, a victory which Herodian imputes to a deceit practised on the Parthian king, who, simple man, expected in Caracalla a son-in-law, not an invader. Antoninus was a brave and able soldier, though a blood-stained man.

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* Vol. ii. p. 116.

It was long before the Romans recovered in the East the advantages conceded by his murderer and successor, the traitor Macrinus.

The career of the younger Gordian, who was preparing to march down the Euphrates, was arrested in a similar manner by the assassin Philip.

Of Carus little else can be said, except that, like his predecessors, he crossed Mesopotamia and took Ctesiphon.

The great mistake committed by the Roman emperors was not colonizing Babylonia. With the command of the Tigris and the Euphrates, that country was always in their power; and the Turks in modern times have proved that Mount Zagros is the real boundary between Western and Eastern Asia, and not the Euphrates, nor even the Tigris.

The next interesting expedition is the invasion of Mesopotamia, by Sapor the Second, in the reign of Constantius, of which Ammianus, an eye-witness, has given a truly graphic sketch. But before I quote his description, the reader ought to know, that the rivers Lycus and Caprus had changed their names in the fourth century, and taken, in the orthography of Ammianus, the form of Diabas and Adiabas. "I have learned," says he, in describing Adiabenè, "that there are two perennial rivers in this district, which I have also crossed; their names are Diabas and Adiabas, and they are both traversed by a bridge of boats; hence the province was called 'Adiabenè.' In it are the city Ninus, which formerly possessed the sovereignty of Persia, bearing the name of Ninus, a most powerful monarch, formerly the husband of Semiramis, and

Ecbatana, and Arbela, and Gaugamela."* The etymologist will easily see that, as in other numerous instances, the original name had triumphed over the Greek appellation, and that in the Diabas and Adiabas we have an attempt to give a Greek form and meaning to the oriental Zabas, pronounced D'Sabas. From the eighteenth book, before he was seized with the etymological conceit, we have the Lycus expressed in a more intelligible form, as An-Zabas. Ammianus, after transcribing an obscurely worded letter from the Roman ambassador in the Persian court, adds; the meaning is, "that the Persian monarch, after passing the rivers Anzabas and Tigris, aimed at the empire of all the East." Ammianus was sent into Cordyenè, of which more hereafter, to watch the motions of the enemy, and from a high rock, at a great distance from the satrap's palace, saw the Persian monarch pass the Great Zab, or Anzabas. He returned with the important information, that the enemies had already passed one of the two bridges. The other, of course, was the bridge at Beled, or Eski Mosul.

I reserve for another time the account of the celebrated expeditions of Heraclius against Chosroes Nushirvan, although I may here say, that D'Anville, praised as he is by Gibbon, is totally mistaken, and has scarcely a station, except Ninive, which he could not mistake, properly laid down.

The invasion of Persia by the Arabs was along the

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* Page 251.

west bank of the Euphrates; the first battle was fought at Kadesh, on the edge of the desert, not far from the modern Kerbelai. After this victory they made Cufah their head-quarters. As the lower part of the Shat-ul-Arab had been from all antiquity under the dominion of the Arabs, their first city was built on the western bank of that river, under the name of Basora, or Basra.* This was founded in the fourteenth year of the Hegira, and was called Irac Agemi. In the course of the succeeding year the camp at Cufa was converted into a city, which bore the name of Irac Arabi, as well as Cufa.† As the settlers at Cufa spread their arms in a north-east direction, the whole country of Mesopotamia and ancient Assyria was called after the capital. For the same reason the Basorians, having been the principal conquerors of Media and Persia, gave these districts the name of Irak Agemi. Immediately after the battle of Kadesh, Abu Musa crossed the Shat-ul-Arab, invaded Chusistan, defeated the satrap Hormus, at Ahwaz, and made himself master of the whole country.

In the mean time the Cufites took Madain, or Ctesiphon, and Yesdegird, the Persian king, retired in the direction of Holwan, along the road that leads to the great pass of Kerrund, or Taka-Jak, called by the Greeks the Gates of Mount Zagros. A second pitched battle was fought at Halula, or Jalula, on this road, about mid-way between Madain and the pass.

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* Golius. † Ib.

The Persians were again defeated. Ibn Abdalla won this victory in the year nineteen of the Hegira, and advanced as far as Holwan, which surrendered. Abdalla did not, however, succeed in forcing a passage across Mount Zagros; and Yesdegird, not being pursued, was allowed to retire on Ispahan, and to make preparations for a third trial of strength.

But the Basorians having established themselves in Ahwaz, prepared to enter Media on a more vulnerable side, under the command of Noman Ibn Makran. He marched from Chusistan up the Kerah, no doubt along the royal road mentioned before, as conducting by a great circuit from Susa to Ispahan, and was opposed by the Persian army at Nehavend, or Nahwand. The Persians were a third time, and finally, defeated, and a fatal blow was given to the empire of the Sassanides. Nehavend with all its booty surrendered to the conquerors. "And because the majority of the troops were Basorians, the tribute of Nehavend was assigned to Basra, and it received the name of Ma Basra."*

In the mean time, Ibn Abdalla took the city of Dainur, or Deinavur, among the hills; and, for the same reason as before, the tribute of that city was assigned to Cufa, and it received the name of Ma Cufa. This took place in the twentieth year of the Hegira.

I have given the account more minutely, as tending to throw considerable light on what I have before said respecting the main passes of Mount Zagros.

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* Golius, p. 226.

For a similar reason, I shall transcribe here two itineraries; the first between Hamadan and Ispahan, the second between Hamadan and Jondisapor, (a town close to Tostar, or Shuster,) from Edrisi, as translated by Gabriel the Sionite and John the Kesronite; and also from Ibn Haukal, as translated by Sir William Ouseley. The difference of the names, although by no means great in reality, may startle a person not accustomed to these studies.

FROM HAMADAN TO ISPAHAN.

ACCORDING TO EDRISI.	Miles.	ACCORDING TO IBN HAUKAL. [The first stages are corrupted, and mixed with another route.]	Farsangs.
From Hamadan to Ramen,	21		
Bergagerd,	33	Rugird, or Wirdgird,	11
Karch,	30	Kurreh,	15
Borg, (no number)		Berah,	12
Chubigian,	30	Khoumenjân,	10
Asbahan,	90	Spahan,	30

On Arrowsmith's map the three principal stations after Hamadan are printed Booroojird, Gilpalgoan, Ispahan.

FROM HAMADAN TO JONDISAPOR.

ACCORDING TO EDRISI.	Miles.	ACCORDING TO IBN HAUKAL.	Farsangs.
From Hamadan to Rudhan,	27	From Hamadan to the Rud-Rawer,	7
Nahawand,	21	Nehavend,	9

	Miles.		Farsangs.
Alasir,	30	Lashter,	10
Saber-Has, (no number)		Shaber Khuast,	12
Allur,	90	Lour,	30
Andamas, (no number)		Pul-Andemesh,	2
Giondisabur,	6	Jondishapour,	2

From these and similar routes I conclude, that the miles of Edrisi, as I said before, are only an allowance of three for the Eastern farsang, and that the farsang is as unknown as ever; consequently, although such itineraries are invaluable for the purpose of comparative geography, the frequent gaps which occur, and the great uncertainties in the printed numbers, render it almost impossible to extract any thing like scientific knowledge from them. Andemas, called by Haukal Pul Andemesh, is, without a doubt, the Desfoul of the map, being the bridge across the Abzal, which we have before described; and this being so, we may be confident, that the ruins of Lour, or Lor, the ancient capital of Loristan, are still to be found about seven or eight miles on the west bank of the Abzal above Desfoul.

The history of Timour by Sherefeddin is rich in geographical notices, and those of the most accurate kind. When, after the second conquest of Bagdat, the conqueror was preparing to carry his arms into Western Asia and Egypt, he undertook to destroy Tecrit, the stronghold of as great a robber as himself, though on a smaller scale. He set out from Bagdat, and arrived at Tecrit in ten days. On the second day he passed the Tigris, and marched up its right bank for the remaining eight days. It ought

to be remembered, what an extraordinary combination of similar distances, performed by Tartar, Greek, and Roman armies, is exemplified in this march.

" After the conquest of Irac Arabi, Timour determined to pass into Diarbekir. He threw a bridge of boats across the Tigris."* " Timour embarked, and advanced with extreme diligence by water, and when, after passing Toouc, he had arrived at Carcouc, the inhabitants came out to meet him with great ceremony." Petis de la Croix has sadly mistranslated this passage, in saying that Timour arrived by water at Toouc and Carcouc, (Tauk and Kerkook;) towns which, consequently, he tells us were in Mesopotamia. He committed the same mistake before, in supposing that Timour had sailed a whole day up the Tigris from Bagdad, when the meaning evidently was, that he crossed from the left to the right bank, as he now did the reverse while preparing to invade Mesopotamia from the neighbourhood of Tecrit. " Timour quitted that place (Altoun Cupri, or Kerkook, the translation does not enable me to say which,) on the twentieth of December, A. D. 1403, and arrived at Arbelle." Timour left Arbelle next day, and went and encamped on the banks of the river Cuna-Zab, (the Lycus;) two days after, the army swam across and arrived at Mousul." From that city he reached Roha, or Edessa, by passing near Mardin and visiting Ras-al-ain. In returning from the conquest

* Life of Timour, vol. ii. p. 260.

of Syria he followed the same path, taking, as the historian says, "the Altun Cupri road."

When Nadir Shah besieged Bagdat, the celebrated Topal Osman fixed his head-quarters at Mosul, while gathering troops for the purpose of raising the siege. "There he crossed the Tigris and continued his march towards Cherchesene, (Karacoosh of the map.) He then directed his march to Kerkoud (Kerkook); he had several considerable branches of the Tigris to pass, besides the rivers Hazir, (Bumadus) Jarb, (Lycus,) and Altun, (Caprus, so called from its bridge Altun Kupri,) over some of which he was obliged to transport his troops in floats."*

Thus far Hanway's account is intelligible; but, unfortunately, having mistaken Kerkoud, according to his own note, for Scherzoor, the rest of the march is involved in utter darkness. Suffice it to say, that the final battle was fought on the plain of Samara, so renowned in history. In Hanway it is called the plain of Haronia: they named it from the city and palace Harounia, built by Haroun, the son of Motassem, in the immediate neighbourhood of his father's favourite residence Samara. Of the village Haronia on the map, placed on the royal road between Bagdat and the Pass of Kerrund, I know nothing, but suspect it has been put there to grace the imaginary field of battle.

In addition to these overwhelming evidences, that

* Hanway's Nadir Shah, p. 311.

there was no road for an army between Samara and the mouth of the Lycus, I can allege that every route of both caravans and single travellers between Bagdat and Mosul, has invariably been through Tauk, Kerkook, and Arbela; and from Mosul to Bagdat, if by land, along the same line.

Now it is idle to suppose, that Greek, Roman, Persian, Tatar, and Turk, should, for a space of more than two thousand years, have invariably taken this very considerable circuit, even when their fleets were sailing down the Tigris,—that caravans and travellers should have taken the same line, did not some physical obstruction prevent the possibility of forming a road along the Tigris between the line of the Hamrun Hills and the mouth of the Lycus; consequently that it is pure romance to suppose, that the Ten Thousand, with their four attendant armies, could, in five days, have traversed this most impracticable ground. And if this be the case, as no doubt it is, all that I have hitherto advanced on the subject must, on the great scale, be undoubtedly true.

I am not prepared to point out the exact spot where the insuperable obstruction occurs, because travellers by land strike to the right long before they come near it, and because those who sail down the Tigris spend two nights between Mosul and Tecrit. Kinneir, the most accurate of modern observers, spent three nights between the two towns; the second night overtook him immediately after passing the mouth of the Greater Zab; the third seven hours before he arrived at Tecrit; so that the most interesting parts of the river were past at night. But it is evident

from Niebuhr's maps that there are formidable mountains both between Tecrit and the mouth of the Caprus, and between the Caprus and the Lycus. Soon after passing the mouth of the latter river, Mr Kinneir "noticed the ruins of a town on the top of a hill, the base of which was close to the water's edge." Niebuhr, in travelling from Altun Kupri to Arbela, says, "on the west of the road there was a high mountain, called by the natives Kara-dsjog."* This was the Nicatorium of Alexander, so named in commemoration of the victory. Were I, however, to fix upon the exact spot, I would select the Fathe of Niebuhr as the place. "Near Fathe, where the Tigris flows by the mountain Hamerun, there is a cascade or water-fall, which is very dangerous for the boatman when the water is low, as the dyke of Nimrod is, when the water is high; but, provided the boatman knows well how to guide his kellek, there is nothing to fear at either place."

THE CARDUCHI.

The Greeks left the banks of the Tigris, and in seven days traversed the mountains of the Carduchi, and arrived on the banks of the Centrites, two hundred feet wide. I shall premise my inquiry into the ancient seats of the Carduchi with the following quotation from Strabo:—"The northern parts of Media are

* P. 277.

mountainous, rough, and cold, inhabited by the mountaineer Cadusii, Amardi, Topyri, and Cyrtii, bandit tribes that change their seats without any reluctance. For Mounts Zagrus and Niphates contain scattered branches of these nations. And the Cyrtii in Persis, and the Mardi, (also called Amardi,) and the tribes who now bear the same name in Armenia, are of the same race."*

As the Cyrtii, the Carduchi, and the Cordyæi, are the same people, and as there were various branches of them in different regions, it will be sufficient for my purpose, while I take a more general view of that most interesting nation, to prove that the mountainous country immediately to the south of the Caprus, and bounded on the other three sides by Mount Zagrus and Media, the plains of Assyria, and the river Tigris, was an ancient seat of this nation.

But I cannot among the more ancient authors trace the existence of the Carduchian tribes as regular settlers anywhere but in the mountainous part of Mesopotamia, and the district at present under consideration.

Strabo says, that the eastern part of that ridge of Taurus, which passes from Commagenè eastward, dividing Mesopotamia and Armenia, was called by some the Gordyæan Mountains.† In exemplification of this, in another book he writes, " That part of Mesopotamia which is near the Tigris is the country of the Gordyæi, who were formerly called Carduchi, and their cities are Sarisa, Sitalcè, and Pinax, a very strong

* Lib. xi. cap. 13. † Lib. xi. cap. 4.

fortress, with three citadels, each forming a separate stronghold, so as to appear like three cities. It was nevertheless subjected to the Armenian, and the Romans took it by storm, although the Gordyæi had the character of being excellent architects, and well skilled in the use of siege-machines; for this reason, Tigranes employed them on such services."* I may remark by the way, that the Pinax of Strabo is the impregnable Mardin of later times. If any one doubt, let him examine Niebuhr's View of Mardin, and he will be satisfied that the chorographer and the limner had the same natural object to delineate; for it is absurd to suppose that in the same neighbourhood there could be two different places so like the Pinax of Strabo and the modern Mardin.

Strabo also says, in describing the course of the Tigris, "Thence it flows towards Opis and the mound of Semiramis, leaving the Gordyæi and the whole of Mesopotamia on the right."† To this district later writers gave the name of Cordyenè.

The Assyrian Cordyenè is thus described by Pliny: "Sophenè is connected with that side of Armenia Major which borders on Commagenè, and with Sophenè is connected Adiabenè, the commencement of Assyria, of which Arbelitis, where Alexander conquered Darius, is a part. On the side next the Caspian Sea is Atropatenè."‡ "With the Adiabeni are connected the present Cordyeni, formerly called Carduchi, skirted

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* Lib. xvi. cap. 1. † Lib. xi. cap. 14.

‡ Lib. vi. caps. 14 & 15.

by the Tigris, with them the Pratitæ." This description of Pliny absolutely confines the Carduchi within the bounds before described by me, with the Tigris to the west, and Arbelitis to the north, and the wild tribes of Mount Zagrus to the east. Another passage makes it still clearer: "Bordering on the Gordyæi are the Aloni, (through whose territory the river Zarbis flows into the Tigris,) the Azones Silices, mountaineers, and the Orontes, to the west of whom is the town Gaugamela; above are the Classitæ Silices, through whose territory the river Lycus flows down from Armenia."* These, according to Pliny, were barbarous tribes both between the Caprus and the Lycus, and between the Lycus and the Armenian mountains; and immediately to the south of them, extending from the Tigris to Mount Zagrus, were the ancient Carduchi, or Gordyæi. As Pliny, in this passage, gives its classical name to the Greater Zarb or Zab, his Zarbis must of course be the Caprus.

Having thus fixed the locality of the Carduchi, I may be allowed to suggest a slight emendation of the following passage in the Assyria of Ptolemy: "That part (of Assyria) which borders on Armenia is called Arrapachitis; that which borders on Susiana, Sitacenè: the Garamæi occupy the centre. The district between Sitacenè and the Garamæi is called Appolloniatis, that between Arrapachitis and the Garamæi, Adiabenè." For Γαραμαῖοι I propose to read Γορδυαῖοι; and that for two reasons; first, it does not appear that any

* Lib. vi. cap. 26.

such people as the Garamæi ever existed either here or elsewhere; secondly, the Gordyæi, as above shown, occupied the very space ascribed by the received reading to the non-existing nation. It is no objection to the proposed emendation, that the change, as far as the form of the Greek letters is concerned, is very trifling.

Golius, a weighty authority, writes, in his note on Sharizool, or Sharezour, the principal city of this country, that "it is situated in a plain, but the adjacent country is mountainous, rugged, and rough. The whole is inhabited by the Curds, who, being a hardy, powerful, and barbarous nation, addicted to robbery and plunder, and in every age impatient of foreign domination, have but very rarely submitted to the khalifs and kings, and if they have apparently acknowledged their authority, they, nevertheless, have always retained their own hereditary prince."*

"The name of this city, or rather the Curdic territory, is enumerated among the solemn titles of the Turkish emperor, in order to claim the glory of being the lord of that powerful and unconquered nation. It may also be added, that many commentators on the Koran, and other oriental writers, affirm, that Thaluth, or Goliah, was descended from the Curds, or, more properly speaking, that the Philistines, deduced by us from the Egyptians, were a Curdish race."

To this I may also add, that Ebn Haukal, after as-

* P. 227.

signing Shehrzour and Shehrwerd to the Curds, adds, "the inhabitants of Shehrwerd are notorious robbers and plunderers. Saul, the son of the children of Israel, was of this place." But it appears that the Curds were not in a very flourishing state in the time of Ebn Haukal, who lived about the end of the tenth century; for he says, "from Deskereh to the borders of Holwan is a desert, without any building or inhabited places between it and Samereh, or between Shehrzour and the borders of Tecrit."*

In all probability the vicinity of the favourite residence of many of the powerful princes of the house of Abbas had not proved favourable to the prosperity of the Curds, who in the days of Ebn Haukal, when Samareh had fallen into decay, had only lately succeeded in recovering their primary city Shehrzour. When Timour invaded the country, he found the Curds in possession of their ancient seats, and though he made a terrible havock among them, they avenged themselves deeply. A Curd, who had been, as he thought, ill used, stabbed to death Ali Sheik Behader, one of the greatest of his generals; and the fort of Courmatou, printed in the map Dus Kourmatou, proved fatal to his bravest and best-beloved son, the Mirza Omar Sheik. In marching from Shiraz to Mardin, "he had to pass through the country of the Curds; and on his road, at a small fort called Carmatou, inhabited by a few people, the Mirza ascended an eminence in

* P. 69.

order to view the place, from which a wretch, who knew him not, shot an arrow, which, piercing the vena cava, killed him on the spot."* This memorable fort is one stage to the south of the modern Tauk.

Niebuhr, among the principal seats of the Curds, enumerates Kerkook, Gulamber, Khoi Sangiac, and Scharassul, (Sherizour,) which are situated in the district in question, to the south of the Caprus.† It was from a village called Dowên, in the territory of Khoi Sangiac, that Ayub, the father of Salah Eddin, was born.

One would imagine, that the excellent Rauwolf had been a party to my theory, so exactly does he describe this original habitation of the Carduchi. "Not far off from Tauk we saw a very strong castle, near unto a wood, that is guarded by a Turkish garrison. This is situated in the country of the Curters, which beginneth and lieth between Media and Mesopotamia, all along the river Tigris, and reacheth to Armenia. These Curters speak a peculiar language, which was unknown to my fellow-travellers, wherefore they could not speak to them in the Persian or Turkish language, which is spoke all along from Bagdat through Assyria."‡ He soon after adds, that, after passing the Caprus, they found the country "quite inhabited by Armenians, which we could presently find by the alteration of the language and habit."

Nor do I mean to deny that there were in ancient

* Life of Timour, p. 270. † Vol. ii. p. 269. ‡ P. 161.

times Cordyeni in Armenia; for although I do not find any positive evidence of the fact, yet it may be inferred, from the name of the Gordyæan Hills being given to a great range in that kingdom, that there once must have been Gordyæi to inhabit them.

I know of no tribe of people more interesting to the historian of the human race than the Curds. There they have remained among their mountain-fastnesses an unchanged and recorded race for more than two thousand years. They have preserved their language, their habits, laws, customs, and independence. From their heights they have witnessed the plains successively occupied and forsaken by nations from every quarter of the compass. The Mede, the Persian, the Greek, the Parthian, the Arab, the Tatar, and the Turk, have all set up their habitations in the vales, and have passed away; for even the Turk does no more than linger there. It has been no home, no resting-place for any of these races; but the Curd looks back on an unbroken descent through a hundred generations; from father to son the mountain-heritage has been handed down without a breach, and while he traces his lineage to the patriarch Noah, points to the ruins of the ark as a proof that he possesses the paternal inheritance still unviolated, and that he represents the eldest branch of the far-spread Noachidæ.

Golius, no mean name, regards them as the original Chaldees. "The remains of the Chaldæan nation, which occupy the mountain tracts, are called Curdi, or the Expelled, as some authors interpret the

word; but I regard the word the same as Chaldæi."* If Golius had remembered that one of the commonest Scripture names for Assyria was Kir, in all probability he would have adduced that as a stronger proof of the identity of the Curds with the ancient Assyrian nation.† The passage quoted from Strabo proves that the Curds long retained among their mountains traces of their original civilization; for skill in architecture and the management of warlike machines can only be the result of a very advanced period of civilization, and it must surprise every reader, that Tigranes, who could command Greek artificers, should yet prefer the services of men whom we long have been taught to regard as barbarians. A good vocabulary of the Curdish language, as spoken in the recesses of Mount Zagrus, would be a most acceptable addition to literature.

THE CENTRITES.

The Greeks traversed in seven days the territories of the Carduchi, and arrived on the banks of the Centrites. I must at once confess that I have found it impossible exactly to trace the route of the Greeks from the banks of the Tigris to the neighbourhood of Trapezus, and that most of the subsequent reasoning must be founded more on probabilities than local

* P. 17. † See Rennell's Route, p. 391.—Geography of Herod.

knowledge. I hope, however, that some discoverable points, although few, yet strongly marked, may guard me from the commission of any serious mistake.

In the first place, it is my intention to show that the Greeks did not pass to the westward of the lake Van, and if I can succeed in doing this, the ground within which mistakes can be committed will be considerably narrowed.

The route between the banks of the Tigris and Trapezus was as follows :—

	DAYS.
The Centrites in - - -	7
Turned the sources of the Tigris in -	3
The Teleboas, - - -	3
Through a plain, - - -	3
Surmount a pass, - - -	1
March through a desert to the Euphrates,	3
Through deep snow to villages, -	4
The Phasis, - - - -	7
A mountain-pass, - - -	2
The Taochian Fort, with a small river,	5
The Harpasus, - - -	7
Villages, - - - -	4
Gymnias, - - - -	4
Mount Thecha, - - -	5
The Colchian Hill, - - -	3
Trapezus, - - - -	2
Total,	63

In the course of these 63 days they crossed the following rivers :—

Centrites, -	200 feet broad.
Teleboas, - -	not large, but fair.
Euphrates, -	without wetting above the middle.
Phasis, - -	100 feet broad.
Harpasus, -	400 feet broad.
Nameless river, with a tributary, - -	of considerable breadth.

Of these rivers the Centrites was the deepest, the Harpasus the broadest.

They also surmounted the following ranges of mountains:—

The Carduchian Hills, between the Tigris and the Centrites.

The ridge between the Teleboas and the Euphrates, the passes of which Teribazus intended to occupy, and there attack the Greeks.

The high ground covered with snow between the Euphrates and the Phasis.

The mountain-ridge occupied by the Chalybes and Phasiani and Taochi, situated between the Phasis and the Harpasus.

Thecha, placed between the Harpasus and the nameless river.

The Colchian Hill, between the nameless river and Trapesus.

Between Lake Van and the Euphrates, that lofty ridge of Mount Taurus, called by the ancients Mount Niphates, erects its huge and impassable crest, and

renders the access between the vale of the waters of the Tigris and Upper Armenia impassable for an army, except at the eastern end, where the mountain descends on the Lake Van, and its western end up the valley of the Euphrates. In the intermediate space there exists no public road of any kind.

Kinneir writes thus from Erzeroom :—" The greater part of the morning following our arrival was occupied in making inquiries respecting the best mode of prosecuting the remainder of our journey to Bagdad. The chief object of our wishes was to trace the retreat of the Ten Thousand ; and as we understood that there were only two roads through Koordistan, the first by Paulo and Diarbeer, and the other by Betlis and Sert, we chose the latter as the most probable route of the Greeks."* I have taken great pains to verify this statement, and can affirm, that I can find no trace of any other road, except a shorter cut over the eastern shoulder of Mount Niphates, leading from Miafarekin to Moush, without making the angle to Betlis. But this is only a modification of the great eastern line.

Supposing that the Greeks took the western line, and absolutely, as Xenophon supposed, turned the sources of the Tigris, they would along that line have to traverse the following rivers not fordable by infantry :—

The Lesser Zab.
The Greater Zab.

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* P. 369.

The Khabour.
The Erzen.
The Batman Su.
The Morad.
The Euphrates.

Of which, in succession,

THE LESSER ZAB.

It has already been seen, that it was necessary to have a naval bridge over this river for the purpose of conveying troops across; but we do not hear much of the dangers of the passage, as a stone bridge has for centuries been built across the main stream at Altun Cupri, situated in an island formed by the division of the river. "Here," says Rauwolf, "they make floats, which although they are not very big, nor have much wood in them, yet they have abundance of buck and goat skins hung or fixed underneath, below the bottom, without doubt by reason that they may load the more upon them, and also because the river is rapid, that they may have the less fear or danger."* These kelleks on the Lesser Zab floated down into the Tigris thence to Bagdad. "Altun Kupri," writes Niebuhr, "is in an island on the Little Zab, and derives its name from a great bridge across one of the branches." Niebuhr re-

* P. 164.

mained in the town for one night, and almost lost his life next day in attempting to cross the northern branch, which had swoln with the nocturnal rain. Kinneir, who had seen it in various parts, gives it a bad character, as being deep, rapid, and dangerous, although not very broad.

THE GREATER ZAB

Has already been sufficiently described.

THE KHABOUR.

No part of ancient geography is more unsatisfactory than either the total omission or loose notices of the great branches which unite to form the river Tigris. There is in mankind a strong tendency to look upon every magnificent river as one during its whole course, and to suppose that, even to its very source, the main stream bears indubitable marks of its future greatness. But actually there is no such distinction, and the tributary and main stream change their relation according to the individual caprice of the first describers. Even now it is difficult to decide what characteristic ought principally to determine the sovereignty of one branch over another. Some prefer a greater body of water, others greater length of course, while a third party prefers the popular voice as definitive and without appeal. The natural consequence of such a fluctuating standard necessarily

is, that many branches near the sources of large rivers have their several partizans, and, according to various prejudices, the general name is given to various branches. Hence arises great confusion in historical geography, as it is in vain to attempt to reconcile the historian and the geographer when they agree in the name but differ in the object. It often also happens, that, in their anxiety to ascertain the main stream, all notice of branches, scarcely inferior to it in importance, are omitted. It is on this principle that we must account for the entire omission of the river Khabour in the works of the ancients. To show the magnitude of the stream, it is only necessary to quote the following passage from Kinneir :— "At the sixth mile was the top of the range, from which we saw the Kabour coming from the north and winding through the mountains. It crosses the plain of Sert four miles from the town, and is no doubt the river Centrites, which the Ten Thousand found so much difficulty in passing, and which Xenophon represents as separating the Carduchi from Armenia, and as being 200 feet broad, and only fordable in one place. The Kabour was, I should guess, nearly eighty yards wide, very rapid, and certainly not fordable anywhere near the spot where we crossed it."* "Again, at the seventeenth mile, we forded with the greatest difficulty (they were on horseback) at a spot where its great breadth rendered it more shallow,—the river Kabour, the same which

* P. 412.

we had passed on a bridge near Sert. As none but our party would venture to ford the river, we were fortunately, by this accident, separated from the caravan, who were compelled to make a long detour."* This took place on the 30th of July, when, according to Mr Kinneir's account, the swell in the rivers of Mount Taurus has entirely subsided. I have full confidence in Mr Kinneir's testimony as to what he saw, but think that he must have been deceived as to the identity of the river of Sert and of the Khabour. Mr Kinneir, in travelling from Sert in almost a western direction, principally followed the course of the former river, nor did he even cross it until the twelfth mile. In five miles more he arrived at Ooshu, having, after crossing the river, "entered a succession of bleak and barren hills, intersected with gloomy defiles." Next day they "followed a path through an undulating country, producing excellent crops of wheat and barley, and bounded on the left by a lofty chain of mountains." At the tenth mile they "reached the Erzen branch of the Tigris." Nor have I the slightest doubt that the Sert river, instead of taking the direction indicated on the map, flowed between Mr Kinneir and the range of mountains on his left, and formed a junction with the Erzen branch soon after reaching the plain. This is almost demonstrated by the following fact:—"At the twelfth mile (from Jezirah) we forded, half a mile above its junction with the Kabour, the Hazel Su, a very considerable river

* Page 454.

coming from the north."* Now it is impossible, if the Erzen river and the Sert river held their present courses, for a considerable river to exist between them, especially in the month of July, as may be easily seen on consulting the map.

If these arguments are not sufficient, the testimony of Edrisi is decisive on the subject. He gives two routes, one from Jezirah to Amed, the other from Jezirah to Armenia. The first is as follows :—

"From Gezirah Ebn Omar you will proceed to the mouth of the river Sorait, which is composed of two rivers that flow from the mountains Barema. These unite not far from the Tigris, and discharge their waters into it. On the bank of these rivers is the city Tal. From the mouth of these two rivers you will proceed to the mouth of the river Barema, an immense stream, which, rising in the regions of Armenia, empties itself into the Tigris from the east. From that river you will arrive at Matira, and thence to Amed. The distance is three days' journey."

The second,—

"From Gezirah Ebn Omar to Tal is accounted one station. Talis, a large town, equal to a city, populous, and situated on the river Sarit. From Tal to the mountain Giadan, near to the same river Sarit, a station : from the mountain Giadan to Al-Giabal, a station."

From this it is evident, that the road from Gezirah to Amed and from Gezirah to Armenia was nearly the same for the first day, and that in both

* Page 453.

cases it brought them (at different points perhaps) to the banks of the Sorait, Sarait, or, which is the same thing, the Sert river; that the traveller to Amed went thence up the Tigris, and the traveller to Armenia up the Sarit, till he came where the Giudi, Giurdi, or Gordyæi Hills, touch that river, and thence to Al-Giabal, or Gebal, the mountains, the main ridge of Taurus itself. It is equally plain that the two component parts of the Sarit can be no other than the Erzen and Sert branches. If, however, the Sert branch was such as we have before seen described by Kinneir, it must be far more formidable in the plain after it has received the waters of the Erzen branch, itself a considerable river.

This Sarit was the Nicephorium of Tacitus, the river on which Tigranocerta was built: it was not Sert, as laid down in the map, for two satisfactory reasons,—Sert is not near the river, which, according to Tacitus,* washed a considerable portion of the walls; and, secondly, according to the same authority,† Tigranocerta was only thirty-seven miles from Nisibis. Strabo also joins these two towns, when he says, "Among these is Mount Masius, which overhangs Nisibis and Tigranocerta,"‡ placed, of course, on opposite sides, as he writes in another book, "Masius is the hill that overhangs the Mygdonians of Mesopotamia, (to whom Nisibis belongs,) who are to the south of it;"§ consequently Tigranocerta must be overlooked by its northern side.

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* Lib. xv. cap. 4.
† Lib. xv. cap. 5.
‡ Lib. xi. cap. 13.
§ Lib. xi. cap. 14.

I cannot say whether Tigranocerta was placed on the Erzen, the Sert, or on the united stream, nor whether it may or may not be represented by the Tal of Edrisi. The etymology would suit, for Tal is a hill; and Pliny informs us that Tigranocerta was placed on a lofty spot, (in excelsis.) The following abridged narration, from Plutarch's Life of Lucullus, may serve to assist the future traveller in identifying the ground:—

"Lucullus passed the Euphrates, marched through Sophenè, crossed that ridge of Mount Taurus which intervenes between Sophenè and the Great Vale of the Tigris, forded that river, and entered Armenia. Here he divided his army into three divisions; with the main body he himself advanced upon Tigranocerta; the left, under Murena, marched towards the gorges of the main ridge of Taurus, or Niphates; while the right, under Sextilius, prepared to cut off the communication between Tigranocerta and the Mesopotamian allies of the enemy.

"The three divisions were equally successful; Sextilius cut to pieces a large Arab force advancing from the south, and when Tigranes, alarmed by the boldness of the invasion, withdrew from Tigranocerta, and was retiring on Mount Taurus, he was attacked in the defiles by Murena, who compelled the king to fly, took all his baggage, slew many, and captured more of his army. Lucullus on this invested Tigranocerta, and pressed the siege with great vigour. Tigranes, determined on saving his favourite capital, gathered an immense force, again "passed Mount Taurus, (Niphates,) and spread his troops upon the plain, where

he could see the Roman army besieging Tigranocerta. The mixed multitude of barbarians in the city likewise saw him, and in a menacing manner pointed to their king's armies from the walls." Lucullus, at the head of ten thousand infantry and all his cavalry, quitted the camp before Tigranocerta, "and encamped on a large plain with a river before him." "Next day he drew out his troops. The camp of the barbarians was on the east side of the river; but the river where it is most fordable makes a bend to the west." "While Taxiles was yet speaking, they saw the eagle of the foremost legion make a motion to the right by order of Lucullus, and the cohorts proceed in good order to pass the river." They passed it, ascended the opposite heights, and defeated the immense force of Tigranes almost without a blow.

From this account, extracted most probably from the Commentaries of Lucullus himself, as it is far more minute than the common generalizing style of Plutarch's writings, it is evident that as the Armenian army was to the east of the river, and the Romans had to turn to the right in order to cross it, Lucullus must have marched up the river,—a circumstance which puts Sert entirely out of the question. Were suppositions allowed, I would say that Tigranes was encamped between the Erzen and Sert branch; that Tigranocerta was on the west of the united stream, and that it was the Erzen branch that was forded by Lucullus previous to the attack, as the Sert river appears to be far too formidable to be crossed in the face of an enemy. I may also remark here, that what may be termed an abuse of the points of the compass,

and speaking of them sometimes as relative to the objects themselves, and at other times of the persons concerned with them, has been a most fruitful source of geographical blunders. In the above instance the bend to the west could not have been a western course of the river, but the direct contrary; for, in going up the stream, (except in case of a complete peninsula,) no such movement as that described by Plutarch could have exposed the backs of the Romans to the Armenians, had not the river run from west to east, which is the direction of the Erzen river in this region.

THE BATMAN SU.

If the supremacy were to be assigned to the greater body of water, the Batman Su must undoubtedly be regarded as the main stream, and the name of Tigris be assigned to it. It is thus described by Kinneir :— "The guide conducted us about a mile up the left bank of the Batman Su, when he ordered his attendants to strip and prepare to pass the river. He allotted two men to each horse to prevent accidents, as the stream was deep and rapid, and there were doubts whether or not the cattle could pass without swimming. I certainly expected more than once to have been carried away by the force of the current, and this was actually the case with one of our escort, who was forced to abandon his horse. We crossed the river half a mile above its junction with the Tigris, at a spot where it was one hundred and twenty yards

in breadth, although it was then said to be very low compared to what it had been a fortnight before. At the end of half a mile we reached the Diarbekr branch, (the Tigris,) a stream nearly of the same width but not so deep as the Batman Su."

This latter is the Barema, the great river of Edrisi; and as the Barema mountain of the Arabs was the Niphates of the ancients, it is more than probable that the Batman Su is the Niphates river of the classical poets.* Ammianus in the following passage calls it the Nymphæus:—" On the southern side, Amida is washed by an angular (geniculato) bend of the Tigris that rises at no great distance. From the side exposed to the eastern gales it looks down upon the Mesopotamian plains. Neighbouring on the northern side to the river Nymphæus, it is overshadowed by the summits of Taurus, that separate Armenia from the Transtigritanian provinces. On the west it touches on Gumathena, a fertile and well-cultivated region,

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* Armeniusque tenens volventia saxa Niphates.
Lucan, lib. iii. verse 245.

Pellæo ponte Niphatem
Adstrinxit.
Lib. xiii. 765.

To which no doubt should be added, with the following punctuation:

Cantemus Augusti trophæa
Cæsaris; et rigidum Niphatem
Medumque flumen, gentibus additum
Victis, minores volvere vortices.
Hor. lib. ii. ode 9.

where is the village Abarnè, famed for its warm baths and health-restoring waters." Both commentators and geographers have been much troubled by this assertion of Ammianus, that Amida was near the Nymphæus, (vicina ;) but had they examined the context, they would have seen that Ammianus was only describing a kind of panoramic view from the citadel of Amida, (Diarbecr.) Without alluding to the sources of the Tigris and the summits of Mount Taurus, it is sufficient to show from Ammianus himself, that Abarnè was not nearer to Amida than the Nymphæus. When Amida was taken by storm by the Persians, Ammianus escaped by a postern-gate, and ran for ten miles on the road to Melitenè without stopping. Here he was fortunate enough to catch a horse, which had already killed one rider ; mounted on which he with difficulty arrived " at the sulphureous springs of water naturally warm." As we cannot estimate his ride to have been shorter than his run, Abarnè must have been at least twenty miles from Amida. Nor is the distance of the latter from the Nymphæus much greater. It would be very desirable to know what the present state of the sulphureous springs is, and whether they still contribute to the health of the barbarian inhabitants, or are left to stagnate over the plain. In all probability some ruins of baths and porticoes may yet mark the spot and guide a traveller in his researches.

The Niphates, or Nymphæus, is always called by Procopius the Nymphius, as well as by George of Pisidia, who accurately describes its relative importance in these three lines :

Και τον μεγιστον εκπερασας Νυμφιον
ὁστις Τιγρητος ταις ροαις επιρρεων
Αποστερειται του καλεισθαι Νυμφιος.

Vales. Not. ad Amm. p. 160.

And having passed the Nymphius, largest of rivers,
Which, flowing into the streams of the Tigris,
Loses the name of Nymphius.

Next to the Nymphius comes the western branch, commonly called the Tigris, the fountains of which the Greeks must be supposed to have turned, if they went round the western end of Mount Niphates. Nor do I deny that there did exist a road by which an army might have crossed from the upper part of the vale of the Nymphius into the vale of the southern branch of the Euphrates. But still I may venture to say, that the Greeks encountered no such road in their march. "To the north-west of Martyropolis (Miafarekin) there is a fort called Pheison, situated also in that part of Armenia called Sophanenè, distant something less than a day's journey from Martyropolis. Eight miles beyond this fort, precipitous and altogether impassable mountains approaching each other form two narrow passes not far from each other: these are commonly called Clisuræ, (barriers.) All persons travelling from Persarmenia to Sophanenè, whether they come from the Persian border, or Citharizon, must take the road through these two passes, one of which is called Illyrisis, the other Saphchæ."*

* Procop. de Æd. p. 56.

As there was no other road from the Vale of the Nymphius across Mount Niphates into Armenia, except we take it for granted that the Greeks crossed the Tigris also, and passed over the intervening ridge into Sophenè, which would only increase the difficulty, this whole line must be given up, as it is evident that the Greeks did not cross such rivers as the Caprus, the Lycus, the Kabour, the Nicephorius, and the Nymphius, previous to their encountering the elevated ridge of Mount Taurus. As a lesser difficulty, we may, however, for the sake of the argument, suppose, that, on arriving at the river of Sert, they marched up its left bank, and reached Upper Armenia by the eastern end of Mount Niphates, through the Pass of Betlis. But, before entering into that line, a discussion of the question as to which of these great branches ought to be regarded as the representative of the ancient Tigris may be useful.

If we consult the Peutingerian Tables, the map of Agathodæmon, and even Cellarius himself, we shall find that they all agree in bringing down the Tigris from Armenia in one continuous stream, a species of conventional Tigris; and I am sorry to say that they were not authorised by the geographers in doing otherwise. Strabo's notices of the upper part of the Tigris are very scanty. His regular account of the river under Armenia is this:—"The water of the lake Arsenè, called also Thonitis, is not drinkable. The Tigris flows through it, rushing down from the mountainous region of Niphates; nor does it, on account of the rapidity of its course, mix its waters with the lake; hence it derives its name, as Tigris is the Median word for an arrow. The river has fish of

various kinds, but the lake-fish are all of one species. The river enters a gulf at the bottom of the lake, and, after a long course under ground, re-appears in Chalonitis; thence, after leaving the Gordyæan Hills and Mesopotamia on the right hand, it proceeds to Opis," &c.

In another passage we have the following additional information:—" The Tigris rises from the southern side of Mount Taurus. The sources of the Tigris and Euphrates are about two thousand four hundred stadia distant from each other."* It ought to be remembered, that Strabo drew almost all his knowledge of eastern geography from the writings of the companions and successors of Alexander, and that, unfortunately, none of them seem ever to have penetrated into the splendid vales of the Upper Tigris and its tributaries. We have the strongest proof of this in the second book of Strabo, where he is arguing against the σφραγῖδες of Eratosthenes, who, with his unlimited command of all the information acquired by the Macedonians, confesses that there was no admeasurement of the breadth of Mesopotamia along the ridge of Mount Masius. As every step of Alexander's career, as well as of his lieutenants', was scrupulously measured, we may be sure that where this measure does not exist, Alexander's officers either never penetrated, or did not return thence to report their observations. Eratosthenes says, " that from Thapsacus to the Armenian Gates had been measur-

* Lib. xi. cap. 12.

ed, and that the distance was eleven hundred stadia, but that he omitted the line through the Gordyæans and Armenians, as it had not been measured."* These eleven hundred stadia of Eratosthenes amount to about seventy-three miles, and the Armenian Gates were the pass in the hills after having crossed at the modern Bir. In later times the Syrian princes made themselves masters of all Mesopotamia up to the ridge of Mount Masius, but they never made any regular settlement beyond it. The Armenian of the day held his own with a strong hand, and preserved the most splendid portion of his inheritance unpolluted by Grecian colonization. As a collateral proof of this may be adduced the fact, that in all this extensive and fertile tract there never existed a single Alexandreia, Antioch, Seleuceia, or Apameia, names which invariably mark the dominion of Seleucus and his successors. And yet it was a district worth a struggle. "At the ninth mile," says Kinneir, "we gained the summit of the mountain, which branched out to the right and left, and at last opened into the table-land of Diarbecr. At the thirteenth mile, descended by a gentle slope into the plain, which was covered with luxuriant crops of wheat and barley, and where the people, who were engaged in reaping, came to us, as we passed, with handfuls of grain, requesting the present of a few piastres to enable them to keep the harvest. Almost the whole of the corn consumed by the inhabitants of Diarbecr is grown in this noble plain, which

* Lib. ii. cap. 1.

is about forty hours, or probably one hundred and twenty miles in length, and of a soil capable, as I was informed, of yielding two crops in the year."*

Lucullus seems to have been the first European who opened this country to the western world; nor have I the slightest doubt that in doing so he followed the great royal road between Sardis and Susa, thus described by Herodotus:—

"The whole road is through an inhabited and safe country. In Lydia and Phrygia there are twenty stations and ninety-three parasangs and a half. Phrygia is bounded by the river Halys, on which there are gates through which all travellers must pass before they can cross; and close to the river there is a large fortress. Between this entrance into Cappadocia and the borders of Cilicia there are twenty-eight stations, a hundred and four parasangs. At the Cilician boundary you will have to pass through two gates and by two fortresses. In Cilicia there are three stations and fifteen parasangs and a half. The boundary between Cilicia and Armenia is the river Euphrates, not to be passed without ships. In Armenia there are fifteen stations and fifty-six parasangs and a half; and among them there is a fort."† Unfortunately the numbers of Herodotus are so lamentably corrupted here, that it is impossible to attempt to take them as our only guide. But as the succession of provinces is repeated in the same order as in the speech of Aristagoras, we may be certain of their

* P. 417. † Lib. v. cap. 32.

genuineness. There are two points in the narration which put the lower road through Iconium and Tarsus entirely out of the question. The first is the passage of the Halys where it required a bridge, and could not be forded on either side; the second, the allowance of only three stations to Cilicia, and making the Euphrates its eastern limit. Our actual knowledge of the interior of Cappadocia and of the course of the Halys does not permit me to define the spot where the bridge was, but a line drawn from Melitenè to Celænæ would cut the Halys at a point not far from it. The gathering-place of the immense invading force of Xerxes was at Critali, to the east of it, and in all probability in the plain of Mazaca, or Cæsareia, as Xerxes in moving from the rendezvous crossed the Halys into Phrygia in his march upon Celænæ. Herodotus was well acquainted with the ground, as is evident from his narration of the campaign of Crœsus against Cyrus. "When Crœsus arrived at the river Halys, he, in his advance, as I affirm, passed his army over the existing bridges."* "When he had crossed he arrived at a place in Cappadocia called Pteria. This is the strongest hold of this region, situated as nearly as possible in a line with Sinopè, a city on the Euxine." Should any one object to my translation of the words καὶα τὴν Σινώπην, he ought to recollect that no other meaning can possibly be extracted from it, as the mouth of the Halys is nearly a hundred miles to the east of Sinopè, but

* Her. lib. i. cap. 75.

a line drawn from Sinopè to the Mediterranean passes exactly through Enja Su, about twenty miles to the west of Cæsareia, situated in a large plain, well adapted for the combat between the immense armies of Crœsus and Cyrus. Nor ought any one to be startled at finding a corner of Cilicia running up between Cæsareia and Melitenè, as even in Ptolemy's time one of the governments of Cappadocia to the north of Mount Taurus was called the Cilician government, and the enormous tribute paid by the Persian province of Cilicia, amounting to five hundred talents, shows that it must then have comprehended a far greater extent of territory than in later times. It may also be added, that the great body of cavalry maintained in the Persian Cilicia shows that the later Cilicia was not the same, as cavalry could have been of no use in defending the country either from attacks by sea, or on the side of the mountains.

Plutarch does not mention the place where Lucullus crossed the Euphrates, but the omission is supplied by Tacitus. Corbulo gathered all his forces "at Melitenè, where he was preparing to lead them beyond the Euphrates; soon after he proceeds along the road formerly penetrated by Lucius Lucullus, after removing all the obstacles accumulated by length of time."* The march of Lucullus on Tigranocerta was distinguished for its rapidity. He, therefore, could not have formed this road; he conveyed along it his battering train of artillery, far more unwieldy

* Lib. xv. cap. 26-27.

and cumbrous than the modern engines intended for similar purposes; consequently there must have been a broad way over that part of Mount Taurus.

Pliny, who boasts loudly of being able to give superior information respecting the geography of Armenia, is more particular in his descriptions than Strabo; yet the similarity is so strong, that we cannot doubt that they all describe the same circumstances:—"The Tigris rises in a district of Greater Armenia from a copious fountain in a plain. The place is called Elegosinè. The name of the river itself, while it flows slowly, is Diglito; where the current increases in rapidity it receives the name of Tigris,—the Median word for an arrow. It flows into the lake Arethusa, that supports on its surface all heavy substances, and emits nitrous vapours. It has only one species of fish; nor does it mix its waters with the channel of the Tigris, neither do the river-fish swim into the lake. The course and colour of the river is distinct. After passing through the lake, it sinks into a cavern as the ridge of Mount Taurus meets it there, and, flowing under it, bursts out on the opposite side. The name of the place is Zoroanda. The passage of substances from the cavern to the opposite side proves that the streams are the same. It then flows through a second lake called Thospitès, and is again lost in caverns. Twenty-five miles further down it re-appears at a place called Nymphæum."*

* Lib. vi. c. 27.

The following notice from Ptolemy may be added: "The sources of the Tigris are in longitude 74.20, in latitude 39.20, and form the lake Thospites. There are other lakes, (in Armenia;) Lychnites, the centre of which is in longitude 79, latitude 43.20; and Aresa, (or Arsesa,) in longitude 79.10, latitude 41."

Both these descriptions, whether founded on truth or not, place the source of the Tigris considerably to the north of the main ridge of Mount Taurus, and in connexion with two successive lakes. Their Tigris, therefore, must be the Betlis river, as neither the modern Tigris nor the Nymphius has the slightest pretension to any connexion with Upper Armenia; while, on the contrary, an immense gap opens in Mount Taurus to the south of the Lake Van, through which the Betlis Su descends. Mr Kinneir, without apparently being aware of the importance of the fact, after describing the Lake Nazook, to the north of the Lake Van, writes thus:—"We travelled along the western margin of the lake before ascending the hills on the south, and passed a small river which flows out of it, and said to be one of the sources of the Tigris."* If this report could be verified, it would be an extraordinary confirmation of the ancient accounts. Nor ought we to be surprised that the Tigris should burst the barrier of Mount Taurus in this quarter, as the same thing is done by both the Sarus and the Pyramus, with apparently less vantage-ground. "Through Cataonia flows the Pyra-

* P. 385.

mus, a navigable river, having its sources in the middle of the plain. There is a sunk ditch worthy of description, through which the pure water is conveyed secretly under ground for a considerable space, after which it emerges into sight. And if a javelin be cast from the upper ground into this sunk ditch, the force of the current acts with such violence as scarcely to allow its being dipped, (*i. e.* entirely entering the water, so that the shaft-end should disappear.) But as the stream, of great depth and breadth, hurries down, on meeting Mount Taurus it experiences an extraordinary contraction. Extraordinary also is the gap in the mountain through which the stream flows; for, as in rocks that have been rent and torn asunder, the prominences on every side exactly correspond with the opposite indentures so that they might be fitted to each other,—so also I saw the rocks that overhang this river on either side, and run parallel to each other nearly to the summits of the mountains, at the distance of two or three hundred feet, with their cavities exactly facing their prominences. But the intervening bed of the river was in the solid rock, deep, and so extremely narrow, that a dog and a hare bounded across the fissure. This is the channel of the river full to the brim, and similar in breadth to a petty water-course; but, on account of its tortuosity and consequent contraction, and the depth of the ravine, its roar even from a distance falls like thunder on the ear of approaching visitors."*

* Strabo, lib. xii. cap. 2.

If the Pyramus could do this, there can be no physical reason why the Tigris should not be thought capable of achieving something similar. As the Tigris of Strabo was the Sert river, we need not be surprised that he, in the following passage, should place Tigranocerta in Mesopotamia :—" Tigranes roughly treated the inhabitants of Mazaca when he subdued Cappadocia, for he removed them all to Mesopotamia, and colonized Tigranocerta principally with them."* The original Mesopotamia did not extend to the north of Mount Masius, but latterly it embraced a considerable portion of the Plain of Diarbecr, shifting, however, according to the varying theory respecting the real Tigris. Ammianus, as far as I am able to discover, is the first who identifies it with the western branch, in the passage before quoted, descriptive of the position of Amida. In this he is followed by Procopius,† who brings the Tigris down from its sources in a straight line to Amida. Yet we understand from the same author, that, even as late as the reign of Justinian, the question was by no means settled; for he writes,—" The Persians, with a powerful army, invade Mesopotamia, and, meeting with no resistance, lay siege to Martyropolis, (Miafarekin.)"‡ Under this uncertainty, we need not wonder that the position of the Transtigritanian pro-

* Lib. xii. cap. 2.

† De Bello Persico, lib. ii. cap. 12.

‡ It is curious that the Greeks should have communicated their uncertainty on this point even to the Arabians. " Miafarekin belongs to Armenia, although some place it in the island Mesopotamia."—*Edrisi*, i. p. 202.

vinces is one of the most puzzling connected with the geography of this district. That the reader may understand both the question and its difficulties, I here quote the note of Valesius on the five Transtigritanian provinces, surrendered by Jovian to Sapor. Their names were Arzanenè, Moxoenè, Zabdicenè, Rehimena, and Gordyenè:

"The Persians, being conquered in a great battle in Armenia by Galerius, had given up Mesopotamia, together with the five Transtigritanian provinces, as Rufus Festus writes in his abridgment. But I have often doubted why those provinces should be called Transtigritanian, for most of them were on the Roman side of the Tigris." (Valesius then proceeds to show his utter ignorance of the geography of the country, and then adds:) "Finally, Petrus Patricius records that there was an express stipulation in that treaty, according to which the Persians yielded up the five Transtigritanian districts, that the Tigris should be the boundary between the two nations."* The plain statement is, that it was the Persians to whom the word *trans* referred, and that they had to give up all their possessions to the west of the Tigris, above the latitude of Singara, and that this Tigris, which was to continue to be the branch-boundary between the two empires, was the river of Sert, and not the western branch. For example,

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* P. 306.

ARZANENÈ

Was the district between the Nymphius and the Sert river; the western branch of which latter river is called Erzen to the present day. Procopius writes, "the river Nymphius separates the Romans from the Persians, who possess Arxanè, on the opposite side of the river, being subject to them of old."* And again, "In the mean time a new Roman army arrived, that performed nothing worth mention."† "Celer, however, with his companions, crossed the river Nymphius, and made a short incursion into Arzenè." The Arzanenè of Ammianus and the Arxanè or Arzenè of Procopius are, of course, the same.

ZABDICENÈ.

This word is also shortened by Petrus Patricius, as before quoted, who calls it Zabdicè. The capital of this province was Zabdè, or Bezabdè; if, therefore, we can find it, the vicinity of the province may be inferred. Ammianus writes, "after the destruction of Singara, the Persian king, mindful of the numerous checks he had experienced before Nisibis, prudently avoided it, and marched obliquely to the right, (Dextrum latus obliquis petit itineribus,) intending to make

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* De Ædif. lib. iii. c. 2. † De Bello Persico, lib. i. c. 6.

himself master of Bezabdè, named also Phænica by the ancients, either by force, or by seducing the garrison by tempting promises. The place was a very strong fortress, situated on a hill moderately high, which sloped down to the banks of the Tigris. Where the ground was suspected and low, it was defended by a double wall. Three legions, the Secunda Flavia, Secunda Armeniaca, and Secunda Parthica, were appointed to defend it. They were supported by a large body of Zabdicenian archers, in whose territory, then subject to us, the place is situated."*

"Constantius marched from Amida with his battalions in close order, and on arriving at Bezabdè, fixed his tents, and surrounded them with a deep vallum and ditch."

"Bezabdè, which fortress was opposed like an impregnable barrier to the incursions of the enemy.

"Constantius (unable to retake the place) was grieved in mind, because he was forced to return baffled, and to leave, as it were, the door of a rich mansion wide open."

From these passages it may be fairly inferred, that Bezabdè, or Phœnica, was on the right bank of the Tigris, not very far below Amida, and that it commanded an important pass over the river. The situation and description correspond with the modern Hesn Keifa, or Castle of the Rock. The Turkish geographer, quoted by D'Anville, says, "that Hesn Keifa is a town on the left bank of the Tigris, and

* Lib. xx.

that it has a castle communicating with the town by a bridge across the river that divides them."* It would, of course, be the castle that had the name of Hesn Keifa, and not the opposite town. But there is some mistake in this part of D'Anville's book, as the sentence is absolute nonsense, and as four lines before he places Hesn Keifa in its right position. Zabdicenè was, therefore, the country between the eastern part of Mount Masius and the river Tigris.

GORDYENÈ.

To the previous notices concerning this province I may add, that in later times the whole of the northern part of Mesopotamia Propria was divided into it and Osdroenè, and that Nisibis was the chief town of Gordyenè, and Edessa of Osdroenè. Lucullus, after the capture of Tigranocerta, and a vain attempt to invade Upper Armenia, retraced his steps, crossed Mount Masius, besieged and captured Nisibis, and would have achieved more had not his soldiers mutinied, and refused to engage any further in actual warfare. Here then, in Plutarch's words, they "lingered in Gordyenè." In the course of the ensuing campaign, the Parthians invaded Gordyene, but were defeated by Afranius, driven across the Tigris, and pursued as far as Arbelis, that is, the province of Arbela.

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* P. 86.

Of Moxoenè and Rehimena I know nothing; the first may be the modern Moush, and the latter the Arrhenè of Pliny, near the source of the Tigris.

ROAD THROUGH THE PASS OF BETLIS.

Had the Greeks marched up the Sert, they must have arrived on the shores of the Lake Van, and it is scarcely to be supposed that Xenophon would have omitted to mention this immense sheet of water, had he seen it. The presumption is, consequently, that the Greeks did not march along this line; but, supposing this had been their course, the road would have soon brought them to the banks of the Morad, thus described by Kinneir:—"We arrived on the banks of the Morad, here, nearly as broad, deep, and rapid as the Tigris at Mosul. We swam the horses across, and then passed it ourselves on a raft supported by inflated sheep-skins."* This, of course, is the southern branch of the Euphrates. After crossing the table-land of Armenia, they would have encountered the northern branch, described thus by Kinneir:—"At the fourth mile we crossed this fine river, (the Euphrates,) which, according to the measurement I made of the bridge, was seventy paces from shore to shore; we then travelled on the left bank for nearly a mile, when we reached a spot where it forms a

* P. 378.

junction with another river of equal magnitude."* In addition to these two, they would have also to cross the Araxes and Binguel. "In our journey from Erze-Roum, (after crossing the northern main branch,) we passed first the Araxes at the thirty-fifth mile, and then the Binguel at the sixty-ninth mile. They were both considerable rivers, deep and rapid, and the latter was twenty-six miles from the Morad. I mention this, because I think it tends to prove that the Greeks passed the Euphrates more to the east than we did, and probably about the meridian of Aklet, or Malazgherd. From thence they marched many days before they came to any river; whereas, if they had crossed the Morad to the west, they would have encountered both the Binguel and the Araxes, close to each other, and those rivers contain as large, if not a greater body of water in the month of December, than in the latter end of June, when we crossed them."† Mr Kinneir is very hard upon the Greeks; he makes them first march over the eastern shoulder of Mount Niphates, in order to avoid the lake, then he makes them take an oblique march across the ravines in order to avoid the rivers; but we know that, after quitting the banks of the Tigris, the Greeks did not cross any in succession equal in magnitude to the Lycus, the Caprus, the Kabour, the Morad, and the Euphrates, not to speak of the Binguel; and if this be true, it is also certain that the

* P. 360. † Kinneir, p. 488.

Greeks did not pass to the west, but to the east of the Lake Van.

But before I follow them into those wilds, I shall, as before, examine the opinions and assertions of the ancients concerning the upper part of the course of the Euphrates. The same error which induced them to treat the Tigris as one stream, characterizes also their description of the Euphrates. Strabo gives several versions of its course; but the two following passages will enable the reader to comprehend his view:—"The Euphrates is larger, (than the Tigris,) and passes through a greater extent of country with a meandering channel; it has its sources in the northern side of Mount Taurus, and flows to the west through the Greater Armenia to the Less, leaving the latter to the right, and (Aci) Lisenè to the left. It then turns to the south, and at the turn touches on the borders of Cappadocia. It leaves this province and Commagenè on the right, Acilisenè and Sophenè of the Greater Armenia on the left, and pursues its course to Syria."* "The Euphrates, having its sources on the northern side of Mount Taurus, first flows westward through Armenia, then turns to the south, and bursts through Mount Taurus between the Armenians and the Cappadocians and Commagenians."† The Euphrates of Strabo is consequently the great southern branch, the sources of which he puts about two thousand four hundred stadia of Era-

* Lib. xi. cap. 12. † Lib. xi. cap. 13.

tosthenes from the sources of the Tigris. He gives no intimation of his knowledge of the existence of the great northern branch, except we take the following as such :—" The Euphrates receives (the melted snow) from both sides, and not from one but many hills, as I shall make manifest in the description of Armenia, where I shall add the length of the river, the space traversed by it in the Greater and Less Armenia," &c.,—a promise which he did not fulfil, most probably from the conflicting and contradictory statements of his authorities. From the last quotation, however, Strabo appears to have had some idea of the immense table-land surrounded by mountains, and to a great degree enclosed within the two magnificent branches of the Upper Euphrates.

Of the truth of Pliny's description of the northern branch, every person who has studied the subject must be convinced. He had the information directly from the discoverers, and it consequently bears the stamp of truth. The description is in parts poetical, and shows that there was a strong excitement of feeling on the subject among Pliny's correspondents.

" The Euphrates rises in Caranitis, a district of Upper Armenia, as described by those who very lately have been eye-witnesses of the fact. Domitius Corbulo places the sources in Mount Aba ; Licinius Mucianus at the foot of a mountain called Capotè, about twelve miles above Zimira ; its name at its source is Pyxirates ; it flows first to Xerxenè ; then to Anaitia, separating these districts from Cappadocia. Dascusa is seventy-five miles distant from Zimira. From Dascusa it is navigable for fifty miles to Pastona, or

Sattona. To Melitenè for twenty-six, and Elegeia in Armenia for ten more. During this course it receives the Lycus, Arsanias, and Arsamus. At Elegeia, Mount Taurus meets it, and although powerful in its breadth of twelve miles, does not withstand the current. While preparing to break through, it is called Omira, (or Omora;) after it has succeeded, the Euphrates. Even below, the channel is rocky and the current violent. After that, for the space of three schœni, it separates Arabia, called the district of the Meri, (Merorum,) on the left, from Commagenè on the right. It submits to a bridge at the point, where it takes Mount Taurus by storm. At Claudiopolis in Cappadocia it directs its course to the setting sun. Taurus, thus seriously attacked here, first makes the river change its course, and although conquered and torn asunder before, it proves victorious on a different plan, and thrusts the baffled current with violence to the south. Thus this natural conflict is rendered equal, as the river flows whither it wishes, and the mountain prevents its arriving there by the way it might wish. From the cataracts it is again navigable. Eleven miles thence is Samosata, the capital of Commagenè."*

I place no great confidence in Pliny's numbers, as they display such extraordinary proofs of corruption. Here, however, with the exception of the twelve miles above Zimira, they appear more genuine than usual. In the Antonine Itinerary, we have a line leading

* Pliny, lib. v. cap. 23.

from Zimira to Samosata, along the banks of the river, which will enable any future traveller easily to verify the intermediate stages.*

	MILES.
Zimira,	
Teucila,	16
Sabus,	28
Dascusa,	16
Ciaca,	32
Melitenè,	18
Miasena,	12
Lacotena,	28
Perrè,	26
Samosata,	24

On this route Samosata and Melitenè are well known, and a note of Wesseling on this itinerary enables me to identify Dascusa with the modern Arzen-Gian. Wesseling's observation is,—"At present, provided Ismael Bullialdus has written the truth on the fifteenth chapter of the Byzantine history of Ducas, Dascusa is called Arsynga." As the Peutingerian Tables put the distance between Dascusa and Melitenè at seventy-five miles, being only one less than Pliny's estimate, Wesseling infers that the greater number is the true distance; consequently about seventy-five Roman miles above Melitenè, the ancient Dascusa, the modern Arzen-Gian, or Arzan-Iân, (to distinguish it from Arzan-al-Roum, or Erze-

* P. 208.

Roum,) will in all probability be found. It was from Dascusa to the Caspian Sea that Claudius Cæsar, according to Pliny, calculated the length of Armenia, as he did its breadth between Tigranocerta and the borders of Iberia. The Euphrates will, therefore, be found to bulge more to the west at Arzan-Ian than in any other place in Armenia. Dascusa is put by Ptolemy fifty-five minutes to the north of Melitenè. He has also four towns above Zimira on the right bank of the Euphrates, in Armenia the Less, which is a proof that the twelve miles of Pliny is an erroneous corruption. But if the northern branch be the Euphrates of Pliny, it may be asked, if he gives no name to the southern branch? In the passage above quoted, he mentions three tributaries, the Lycus, the Arsanias, and the Arsanus, or Arsamus. Of these the Arsanias is without a doubt the southern branch. "Claudius Cæsar writes, that the Tigris flows so near the Arsanias, in the district Arrhenè, that when they swell they meet, and yet do not mix, and that the water of the Arsanias, being lighter, floats on the surface of the other for the space of nearly four miles; then the Arsanias separates, and is lost in the Euphrates."*

This, of course, can only be true of some of the minor sources of the southern branch in the neighbourhood of the lakes Van and Nazook, where Pliny places the sources of his Tigris. We have an account of two campaigns on this river, the one by Lucullus,

* Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 27.

described by Plutarch; the other by Cæs. Pætus, described by Tacitus. Plutarch's narrative may be thus compressed:—"Lucullus marched from Tigranocerta to attack Tigranes. It was now the height of summer, yet, when he had gained the summit of Mount Taurus, he saw with regret that the corn was only green. He descended into the plain, plundered the villages, and captured the convoys of the enemy. As Tigranes would not meet him in battle, Lucullus determined to march against Artaxata, the capital. The plan succeeded; Tigranes marched against the Romans, and the third day encamped over against them, being separated from them only by the river Arsanias, which they must necessarily pass in their march to Artaxata. Lucullus passed the river, and defeated the enemy. Elevated with this success, he resolved to penetrate the upper country. It was now the autumnal equinox; the snow fell almost constantly, and when the sky was clear, the frost was intense. Nor could they pass the streams without the utmost difficulty, because the ice broke and cut the sinews of their horses' legs, consequently the troops became mutinous, and Lucullus marched back, and passed the ridge of Mount Taurus by another way."*

The geography is clear. Lucullus marched up the river from Tigranocerta to the Pass of Betlis, and de-

* Langhorn, in translating this passage, met with the word satrapeni, descriptive of a body of the troops of Tigranes, which he translates the nobility. The real word is Sarapeni. Sarapena was a strong fortress, or rather city, between Iberia and Colchis. Strabo mentions it twice. Lib. xi. cap. 2—3.

scended into the plains on the left bank of the Arsanias. Tigranes was in front of him, although Lucullus could not bring him to battle. The latter, therefore, marched to the right with the intention apparently of reaching Artaxata and the Vale of the Araxes. Tigranes, on the opposite bank, marched parallel with him; for we find him on the fourth day still between Lucullus and Artaxata, and the river Arsanias flowing between them. This would bring them to the neighbourhood of Malazgerd, where the river, now fordable, allowed the Roman to cross and rout the barbarian. But as there still intervened a very lofty range of mountains between the invaders and Artaxata, and the winter had set in, they retired into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of Melitenè; their course, therefore, was down the Arsanias. Plutarch, without remembering the winter, makes them march at once from Northern Armenia to the siege of Nisibis; but the following passage from Sextius Rufus separates the two campaigns, jumbled together by Plutarch, who had not the slightest respect for either space or time, and would at any time annihilate both for the sake of an apothegm or slanderous anecdote: —"Lucullus captured Tigranocerta, the largest city of Armenia, made himself master of Madena, (Moxonè?) a fertile Armenian province, and descended by Melitenè into Mesopotamia."

Cæsenius Pætus had entered Armenia and fortified his winter-quarters on the river Arsanias, into which he had retired at the end of autumn, after numerous excursions into the centre of Armenia. Vologeses, who had contemplated a Syrian invasion, had

been baffled by the caution and vigilance of Corbulo. He, therefore, suddenly marched northwards, forced the passages of Mount Taurus, slaughtered or captured the soldiers of Pætus appointed to guard the passes, and suddenly invested the Roman winter-quarters on the banks of the Arsanias. Corbulo, summoned to the assistance of Pætus, had already traversed Commagenè and Cappadocia, and had advanced into Armenia, along the right bank of the Euphrates, when he met the retiring legions, who had saved themselves by a disgraceful capitulation; one of the conditions was, that they had to throw a bridge over the Arsanias for the use of the enemy. It is impossible to say on what part of the river the camp of Pætus was placed. It is mentioned, however, that, in marching to the Euphrates, the Roman army in one day hurried over forty miles of ground to the utter abandonment of their sick and wounded. The untranslateable words of Tacitus, "Vologeses flumen Arsaniam elephanto insidens proximus quisque regem vi equorum perrupere," show that the river in the vicinity of the camp was both large and rapid.*

Of the river Arsanius of Pliny I know nothing, but am certain that the Erzen of the map is, as it flows, a mere creation of D'Anville. "Armosata, or Arsamosata, was a city," according to Polybius, "near the plain called the Beautiful, about midway between

* Tacitus—Annals, lib. xv. cap. 8—17.

the Euphrates and the Tigris."* Pliny adds, "that it was nearer to the Euphrates, Carcathio-Certa, to the Tigris."† Tacitus describes it as a strong fort, "where Cæsenius Pætus, during his Armenian campaign, had deposited his wife and children as in a place of security." The Simsat of the Arabs, which has in general, and most probably with justice, been regarded the same as Arsamosata, is, according to the high authorities quoted by Golius,‡ a strong town, one of the limitary fortresses of Jezireh, between Amida and Charto-Birt, or Carpoot. It is three days' journey from Amida, and two directly to the east of Malatia. A river rises near it which flows by Carpoot, and enters the Euphrates above Malatia. Kinneir, in his Journey to Malatia from Amed, left the ruins of Simsat, or Shimshat, most probably on the right, perhaps on the left. He passed through Carpoot, respecting which we have only the following brief notice:—"Karpoot, the ancient Charpotè, a town in the valley of Sophenè, and belonging to the Pasha of Maden." But the valley without a doubt has its water, the Simsat river of Abulfeda. Had any large river crossed the road between the mountains and Carpoot, Kinneir must have observed it. As he did not, the imaginary Erzen must of course be struck off, and Armosata or Simsat be restored to its proper place in the map. If any one wishes to see ingenuity ill employed, let him consult the Eu-

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* Lib. vi. cap. 9. † Lib. xv. cap. 10. ‡ P. 248.

phrates and Tigris of D'Anville.* Before I quit the subject I shall add Edrisi's account of the upper course of the Euphrates. "The river Euphrates issues from the very heart of the territory of the Romans, not far from Cazala, from the mountains of Calicala. Then traversing the Roman districts, it flows as far as Camch, and thence to Malatia, so as to be only two miles distant from it. It then descends to Samosat, whence it is navigable to Bagdat." Calicala, as proved by Golius, is Erze-Rom, the great bulwark of Adherbijan and Armenia, in the days of Edrisi. "Camch," written Kemach by Golius, "is, or rather was, a strong fortress on the Euphrates," seven leagues, (according to Petis de la Croix's translation,) most likely farsangs, "below Arzangian."† "The castle of Kemac is one of the most celebrated in Asia. It is situated on a high and precipitous rock, and is surrounded by a defile like a labyrinth. At the foot of the walls there are gardens and parterres of flowers on the banks of the Euphrates, and no prince had ever before made himself master of it by force." I identify this spot with the greater pleasure, as the truly accurate Golius wanted to make Commagenè out of Kemach. I think I can affirm with justice, that almost every thing that is valuable in the Tigris and Euphrates of D'Anville has been extracted from Golius, and that what is wrong is D'Anville's own. Yet the Frenchman never acknowledges his obligations.

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* P. 77-8. † Hist. Timour, vol. ii. p. 412.

PROGRESS OF THE GREEKS FROM THE BANKS OF THE TIGRIS.

Unfortunately for the success of the further examination of the Retreat, we have no trust-worthy map of the course between the upper parts of the streams of the Caprus and Araxes on the south and north, and of the lakes Van and Urumea on the west and east. If we look at Arrowsmith's map, it only presents a vast blank, where a few branches of rivers are inserted, more, I fear, for ornament than from knowledge. Yet it was through these unknown wilds that the Greeks pursued their toilsome way. The course of the argument will have long ago prepared the reader for my theory that the Centrites of Xenophon was the Caprus or Little Zab, and that the Greeks were seven days in marching through that part of Kurdistan that lies between the banks of the Tigris and the place where they crossed the Caprus. The Greeks, after encountering the insuperable obstacle, marched down the river for one day in the direction of Babylon. On the following day they crossed the first ridge of the Carduchian Hills, of which I doubt not the Hamrun range is the representative, and encamped in the valley. Next day was principally spent in depriving the soldiers of useless encumbrance. On the third a heavy fall of rain overtook them, and they had to fight their way through many obstacles, and with considerable loss. At the end of this day's march they found the road which led up a steep hill occupied by the Carduchians, and

they had to turn this position by a night-march, which brought them to a higher part of the ridge, whence they descended and drove away the party that commanded the road. This ridge is strongly marked in Niebuhr's map as the Scander Mount, which forms the western termination of the formidable Courma Hills, in all times infested by the Curds. In four days more they fought their way to the banks of the Centrites. Considering all the circumstances of the march, in comparison with their usual rate of advance when unobstructed, we cannot allow more than ten miles for their daily progress, even though they marched latterly without much encumbrance. The actual distance between the Imam Dour (to the neighbourhood of which the back-march must have brought them) and Altun Cupri on the map is seventy-five miles. But as we have nothing to guide us in selecting one portion of the river more than the other, it is useless to pretend to be minutely right; a general result, tolerably correct, is all that can be expected. They crossed the Centrites in the face of an enemy, consisting of Armenians, Chaldees, and Mardonians, and found themselves in Armenia.

ARMENIA.

In judging of Xenophon's Armenia, we must be guided, not by the later writers, but by Xenophon himself, and Herodotus. Now Herodotus, as is evident from a passage quoted before, extended Armenia from the banks of the Euphrates to Matiana, so as

even to include the river Gyndes. It is not wonderful, therefore, that Xenophon found it immediately to the west of the Caprus. For the first day's march after crossing the river they found no villages, on account of the ravages of the Carduchi.

It is very interesting to detect in numerous instances Xenophon the novel-writer borrowing from Xenophon the historian. Should the reader take the trouble of perusing the third book of the Cyropædeia, he will find that the expedition of Cyrus against the Chaldees, in behalf of the Armenians, is in many parts copied from the Carduchian war in the Anabasis, not in words but in exact substance. And Cyrus very generously gives this debatable land to the Chaldees, for the purpose of cultivation. As Xenophon had some theory of the geography of the country, it is satisfactory to find that his exactly agrees with mine respecting the position of these Chaldees and Armenians. For as at this period the Susians under Abradates were hostile, the only road by which Xenophon could bring Cyaxares to Assyria was the pass of Kerrund, whence Cyrus made his rapid excursion into Armenia and the mountains of the Chaldees. Without, however, giving any weight to this deduction, I may rest satisfied with the direct testimony of Strabo, who thus writes concerning Adiabenè, the later name for that part of Assyria to the north of the Caprus: "The greatest part of Adiabenè is a plain, and it is a district of Babylonia, but governed by its own ruler. It has at times also been united to Armenia. For the Medes, and Armenians, and Babylonians, the three most powerful nations in this country, act-

ed from all antiquity on the following principle;—They attacked each other when a favourable opportunity presented itself, and again concluded peace. This system lasted till the domination of the Parthians, when the Medes and Babylonians were subjected to the Parthians, but the Armenians never were. There have been frequent invasions, but so far were they from being overpowered by force, that the late Tigranes made vigorous encroachments on the Parthian empire."* As the borders of these several nations were so fluctuating, we need not be surprised to meet Armenia so far to the south-east. Even in later times, the whole of the upper valleys of the Lycus belonged to Armenia. Little assistance can be derived from modern authors for the elucidation of such a subject, yet the following passage from Rauwolf may be adduced as a proof of the extreme tenacity of language, except in cases of extermination. Between the river which Rauwolf mistook for the Caprus, but which is in reality a tributary of the Lycus and this latter river, he and his companions entered a great market-town called Carcuschey. "This is quite inhabited by Armenians, which we could presently find by the alteration of the language and their habits."† But, to shorten the discussion, I may as well confess that I know not how to recognize one fixed spot between the Centrites and the Arpasus, the identity of which with the Araxes will hereafter be shown. Let it suffice here to say, that if you take

* Lib. xvi. cap. 1. † P. 165.

away the inserted letter p, you have the original appellation Aras, with the Greek termination added. Now, as we are acquainted with the latitude of Altun Cupri, and of the course of the Araxes, I shall take this distance, divide it by the number of days spent in marching from the Centrites to the Arpasus, and make use of the average rate as a means of approximating to a discovery of the positions indicated by Xenophon. The distance, in a straight line, between Altun Cupri, on the Caprus, and Gomasour, on the Araxes, is three hundred and twenty-four miles, which, being divided by the thirty-eight days spent in active marching, give eight miles and a half within a fraction for the daily progress; and when we consider the numerous impediments experienced during their retreat through these regions, the snow, the mountains, and the actual resistance, together with the numerous turns in the road, of which we know nothing, this average rate of map-distance is certainly not comparatively less than that of their advance along the royal road from Sardes to Babylon. According to this calculation, the Greeks would cross the Teleboas at the end of the fifty-first mile, the Euphrates at the one hundred and tenth, the Phasis at the two hundred and fourth, and the Arpasus at the three hundred and twenty-third, or fourth, including the fraction. Now, even Arrowsmith's map gives the southern branch of the Lycus, the main stream itself, under the name of the Hakari river, and the Koshab, or perhaps the Bend-Mahi, at distances which will well correspond with the Teleboas, the Euphrates, and Phasis of Xenophon.

Nor let the reader be surprised that I should thus unceremoniously pass over the sources of the Tigris, and change the Euphrates into the main stream of the Lycus, since, from the days of Herodotus to the present time, every branch of the Tigris, whether a tributary or a derived stream, is almost universally called Dejleh; and as to the Euphrates, I look upon it merely as a name given by Xenophon to the only stream encountered by him and his companions which they could suppose to be the Euphrates. There is a great difference between the testimony of Xenophon as an eye-witness and the information communicated by him from hearsay. In the first case his evidence is beyond suspicion; in the second he was at the mercy of the natives and even of the interpreter. As the Greeks expected to meet both the Tigris and Euphrates in their retreat, we need not wonder that afterwards they should regard it as a settled point, that they had surmounted the sources of one and crossed the other; the only question would be where that occurred; and as the Lycus was the only fit representative of the Euphrates, it was a necessary conclusion, that before they had arrived on its banks the sources of the Tigris had been turned. Besides all this, I am not at all satisfied that even had Xenophon crossed the Morad and the Phrat, he would have recognized the Euphrates in either of them. Even in Pliny's days the upper course of the Euphrates was called Pyxirates, and before it reached Mount Taurus it had received a second Omira or Omora. Although I feel convinced that the first name is Pyxi-Vrat-es, and the second Morad, under

both which disguises it is easy to detect the oriental Forat-Forath, or Frat; yet, as the Greeks were miserable etymologists, I do not think they would have recognized the Euphrates under either appellation.

But there is another mode of ascertaining the line taken by the Greeks, which is by considering the ranges of mountains which they would have to cross between the banks of the Tigris and Trapezus. For these, if accurately examined and compared with the rivers, will serve as unerring guides in tracing the retreat. By far the most circumstantial and, I believe, the most accurate description of these is given by Strabo; for introducing which here there needs no apology, especially as even writers of character suppose* that the ancients looked upon Mount Taurus as a narrow straight belt, extending nearly in the same parallel throughout the whole continent of Asia:"

"Mount Taurus commences from Caria and Lycia; but there displays neither breadth nor height of any consequence. It first elevates itself considerably opposite the Chelidonian Islands, situated at the commencement of the Pamphylian seacoast. The mountain extending eastward includes the narrow Cilician dells. There Amanus separates from it on the one hand, and Anti-Taurus on the other, in which is situated the Comana of the Upper Cappadocians. The latter hill terminates in Cataonia; but Mount Amanus extends to the Euphrates and Melitenè,

* Rennell, p. 173.

where Commagenè borders upon Cappadocia. Then succeed the mountains to the east of the Euphrates, continuous with those already described, except where they are separated by the intervening river. They receive, however, a great increase in height, breadth, and number of branches. The most southern of all is Taurus, separating Armenia from Mesopotamia, *Thence* flow the rivers that encircle Mesopotamia, &c."* (Here follows a description of the course of the Euphrates and Tigris; he then returns to Anti-Taurus.) "There are many branches from Taurus; to the north Anti-Taurus; (for thus is that mountain named that includes Sophenè in the hollow situated between it and Taurus;) on the west of the Euphrates in Armenia the Less, and in a line with Anti-Taurus, a great mountain with numerous branches extends to the north. One part of it is called Paryadres, another the Moschic Mountains, and other parts receive other names; and this range of mountains includes the whole of Armenia as far as the Iberians and Albanians. After that there arise other mountains to the east, overhanging the Caspian Sea, as far as Atropatenè and the Greater Media; and all this range of mountains, as far as the Caspian Gates, and the mountains bordering on Asia, to the east of the gates, are called Parachoathra. These are the names of the northern hills. But the southern range, stretching to the east from Cappadocia and Commagenè across the Euphrates is at the com-

* Strabo, lib. ii. cap. 12.

mencement called by its proper name Taurus, dividing Sophenè, and the rest of Armenia from Mesopotamia. Some, however, call it the Gordyæan Hills. (Masius, also, the mountain that overhangs Nisibis and Tigranocerta, is one of the Gordyæan Hills.) Afterwards it becomes more elevated, and receives the name of Niphates; in a part of which, on the southern side of the mountainous region, are the sources of the Tigris. Then the range, extending farther and farther from Niphates, forms Mount Zagrus, that separates Media from Babylonia. Next to Mount Zagrus, beyond Babylonia, succeeds the mountainous regions of the Elymæans and the Parætacenians, and beyond Media those of the Cossæans. Within these ranges are Media and Armenia, including many mountains, many lofty steps, and in the same manner plains and large vales."* "Armenia is bounded to the south by Mount Taurus, that separates it from the whole of the district between the Tigris and the Euphrates, called Mesopotamia. On the east it borders on the Greater Media and Atropatenè. To the north is that part of the Parachoathran range that overhangs the Caspian Sea, the Albanians, and Iberians, and Caucasus that encircles these nations, and connects itself with the Armenian, Moschic, and Colchian Mountains as far as the Tibareni. It is bounded on the west by these nations and Paryadres and Scydises as far as Armenia the Less, and that part of the vale of the Euphrates that

* Lib. ii. cap. 14.

separates Greater Armenia from Cappadocia and Commagenè." It should be added, that to the east of Mount Niphates was Mount Abus, then Nibarus or Imbarus, reaching into Media. From this description, of the general accuracy of which there can be no doubt, the reader will see that the Greeks, in marching from the Centrites to Trapezus, must cross at least three main ridges,—Mount Zagrus, Mount Imbarus or Nibarus, and the range extending down from Caucasus to Armenia the Less, under the several names of the Moschic Hills, Scydises, and Paryadres. With respect to the last there can be no doubt, as can easily be shown when the discussion proceeds to that part of the Retreat; therefore at present I shall confine myself to the examination of the probable occurrence of the other two on the line of march.

Xenophon accounts for one hundred and eighty-eight days between Sardes and the field of battle; to which, if we add the time spent in marching from Ephesus to Sardis, and some unrecorded stoppages, the general amount of seven months, as specified by Xenophon, can easily be obtained. Supposing, therefore, that this campaign was commenced with the first appearance of spring, say about the middle of March, the battle would be fought about the middle of October. That this calculation is near the truth is evident from the fact, that the date-harvest was over, and the winter-stores laid in at the time that the Greeks visited the provision-villages. Now Kinneir writes of the date-tree,—*"The fruit begins to

* P. 504.

ripen in the siffri or autumn, that is, towards the end of August and beginning of September; some kinds are then eaten by the Arabs under the name of Khutul: they are sweet but hard; and when a little farther advanced or half-soft, they are much esteemed under the name of Kutub. When perfectly ripe, some are saved on the tree, and are considered in the fresh state as a great delicacy, those for domestic use being immediately cut down, and then preserved in a variety of ways."

It may be inferred that as the fruit only begins to ripen in the beginning of September, the full harvest of the ripe fruit does not close before the end of that month. But the Greeks did not enter the Carduchian Mountains until sixty-five days had elapsed after the battle; they entered them consequently in the middle of December. But they were deluged with rain among these hills,—a fact which alone is sufficient to prove that they must have been both of low elevation and in a southern latitude. To expect rain in December on Mount Zagrus is, I imagine, quite out of the question. In six days the army reached the Teleboas, not a large but a beautiful stream. This I regard as one of the southern branches of the Lycus. In three days more they arrived at villages, where, among other various luxuries, they found old and fragrant wines. This proves them to have been still to the south of Taurus, as in the upper states of Armenia the vine does not grow; and it is not to be supposed that these villagers imported their wines. Between these villages and the supposed Euphrates, but really the Lycus, I take

it for granted that they passed the ridge of Mount Zagrus. The great fall of snow, the mountain-pass, and the fact that Teribasus did not watch them any longer, are sufficient to prove that they surmounted a great physical barrier during these days. The words of Xenophon are,—"They again packed up their baggage, and marched with many guides through deep snow, and, having on the very same day surmounted the summit (or pass) where Teribazus intended to attack them, encamped. Thence they marched for three days through the desert to the river Euphrates."* If my supposition be right, the main ridge of Taurus would cross the path of the Greeks after passing this leading stream of the Lycus, and we have every reason to infer that such was the case; for the third day after passing the supposed Euphrates, as they were marching with the north-east wind directly in their faces, was the coldest experienced by them, and during these three days and the fourth many men perished. The army, however, was recruited by the abundant supplies which they found in the subterraneous villages in the recesses of Mount Taurus.

In seven, or perhaps ten days after quitting these villages, they marched through a wild and uninhabited country through the snow, until they arrived on the Phasis, which I would willingly identify with one of the streams that fall into the Lake Van, perhaps the Kosh-ab, a mountain-stream, as the Bend

* Lib. iv.

Mahi is rather small for the breadth assigned by Xenophon. After passing the Phasis, in two days more they crossed the crest of a third range of mountains, and arrived in a plain where they found villages and provisions. This mountain I regard as the range between the basin of the Lake Van, and the upper part of the vale of the southern branch of the Euphrates, and that the march during the next twelve days was along the line of road leading from Taurus to Delibaba, and thence to the Araxes. The proper names recorded on this line are very insufficient guides. Teribazus commanded a body of Armenians, Chaldæans, and Mardonians. The Chaldæans, described as warlike and independent, were doubtless Armenian Curds, as the name intimates. The Mardonians were the Mardi of Strabo, a bandit tribe, inhabiting different parts of the huge mountainous ranges of Taurus. Ptolemy gives them a local habitation in the very southern quarter of his Armenia, and which suits well with the modern Amadia on the Lycus. It ought to be remembered, that the district of Amadia, as mentioned by Kinneir, is celebrated to this day for its wines. At the Teleboas they found, according to the present text, Western Armenia. If it be not a corrupted passage, it must be set down as a mistake committed by Xenophon, for it is absurd to suppose that the Greeks should have marched across the immense country of Armenia in six days. That there is some corruption is by far the more probable supposition, since Xenophon himself describes the country, after eleven more marches, as Armenia. In his summary, at the end of the book, he introduces the word Espe-

ritæ, instead of Armenians, which makes it probable that he hellenized the name of some more obscure Armenian tribe. Of the Phasis I have nothing to say, except that the two other streams of the same name, the Colchian river and the Hy-Phasis, run like this from east to west, and that perhaps they derive their name from *pasi*, or *fesa*, the oriental name for the east. The river, of course, gave its name to the Phasiani, who occupied its banks. The Taochi appear to have been a tribe of the Chalybes, as the Armenian head-borough informed Xenophon that the Chalybes bordered on them, without mentioning the particular name of Taochi. The Chalybes in Strabo's time were called Chaldæi, and consequently were a cognate tribe of the Carduchi and Chaldeans. The Chalybes, as described by Xenophon, were a bold and warlike race, well armed, and dwelling in fenced cities, not afraid to close with the Greeks in combat. During the seven days spent in marching through their country, the army obtained no supplies. In Strabo's time they occupied the country between Cerasus and Armenia the Less; their district was famous for its mines, once of silver, but only of iron in the days of Strabo, who identifies them with the Alybes of Homer; but he informs us under Armenia, that the "Chalybians had been deprived by the Armenians of two provinces, Caranitis and Xerxenè." Now, as we have already seen, Caranitis was the very region to the east of which Pliny places the sources of the Euphrates; consequently we can easily infer, that, in the time of Xenophon, the Chalybes occupied the country between the upper part of the two branches of the Euphrates.

But, as I have thus brought the Greeks from the banks of the Tigris to the Araxes, it remains for me to prove that my supposed line is a practicable one. This, however, is by no means an easy task, since, as it were by common consent, all geographers and travellers, with whom I am acquainted, seem to have avoided the debatable ground. Timour's troops are apparently the sole exception, for they did traverse this region from north to south, and east to west, in almost every direction; but I have every reason to suppose that Petis de la Croix has abridged Sherefeddin's description of these marches even more than usual; and this, among other reasons, renders a full translation of the entire work a great desideratum in literature. With this observation I make the following quotations from the Life of Timour:—"Timour arrived at Erzeroum, where, with the spring, he was joined by the Mirzas and the Emirs, who had passed the winter in Curdistan and Chaldea. They had set out from that country with a quantity of booty, by the route of Coulaghi, and of the mountain Sounatai. They continued their march in order to present themselves at court; and passing by Alatac and Avenic arrived at the imperial court."*

"Timour (at Mosul) commits the care of the empress and the baggage to the Mirza Shah Roc and the Emir-Camelic, and directs their march to Tauris by the way of Tchinaran and Calaghi."†

"The Mirza Rusten arrived (from Bagdad) by the route of Coulaghi and Sounatai, according to the order

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* Vol. iii. p. 411. † Vol. iii. p. 363.

which he had received to present himself at the Couroultai to be held at Karabagh."*

This Coulaghi, or Calaghi, was a town in the before-mentioned unknown region; but whether on a branch of the Caprus or the Lycus I cannot determine. A line drawn from Mosul to Tauris, and intersected by another from Bagdat to Alatac, will, at the point of intersection, enable us to approximate to its situation. This point will be not far from the Rauna of Arrowsmith's map. Alatac was a city in the neighbourhood of the Diadin of the map, about half a day's march from Utch Klisse. Avenic, although supposed to be the same as Van, was not far from Delibaba, having the south-west shoulder of the Kusse Dag between it and Alatac. This ridge was in Timour's time called Kiosatac (Koshatac). Avenic was one of the strongest fortresses ever attacked by Timour, and cost him a long siege many years after the utter destruction of Van. From these facts I have little doubt that the Zagatai princes followed the same line of road which had been traversed by the Greeks. To show, at least, that there are many places in these regions worthy the attention of the geographer, I transcribe the following account from the Life of Timour:—"When the Mirza Miranchah, who had preceded them, had arrived in the plain of Coulaghi, he sent a courier to Timour with the information, that the bandit, Turcoman Sarec Mehemet, had intrenched himself in the mountains." "As soon as

* Vol. iv. p. 154.

the emperor had received the Mirza's message he passed by the castle of Sagasoun, and over the mountain, and after two night marches arrived at Coulaghi." "The robbers had a fortress called Habachi, of which they were masters, as well as of other fortified and precipitous mountain-passes." From Habachi the Turcomans retired over Mount Aourman. In the same neighbourhood were Sarec Courgan and Caroutou, which were besieged and taken by Timour's troops. At Acboulac, Timour received an ambassador from the Sultan of Bagdat, whose embassy pleased him so little, that he instantly marched upon Bagdat by the route of Yan-Boulac, Cour-Courgan, and Shehrizour. By marching day and night he arrived at this latter place in four days.

MARCH FROM THE ARPASUS TO TRAPEZUS.

I look upon it as certain, that the Chalybes, or rather Armeno-Chalybes, as they are denominated by Pliny, compelled the Greeks to avoid the main road that has, from all antiquity, led from Erzeroum to Trebizond, and to pass the Araxes into the country of the Scythini, a less warlike and less civilized nation. After crossing the Araxes, they marched through a plain, and arrived in four days at some villages, where they rested and furnished themselves with provisions. In four days more they arrived in the vicinity of Gymnias, a large, populous, and flourishing city, and in five days more saw the sea. During these thirteen days the army continued with-

in the borders of the Scythini, for they did not arrive at the boundary river until next day; and as it was the territory of the Scythini that they had been plundering at the end of their march, it is clear that the populous city mentioned under the name of Gymnias, although within the nominal borders, could not have belonged to that barbarous tribe. The existence of a civilized city among these mountains in the age of Xenophon has often puzzled me. Who were the inhabitants? They were not Greeks, nor half barbarian and half Greek, otherwise it would have been certainly mentioned by Xenophon. They must have been strong and powerful, otherwise the Greeks would have as certainly plundered them. I have some reason for thinking that Gymnias was the same as the modern Ispira, as I shall proceed to show.

GYMNIAS.

In the first place, the distance from the Araxes corresponds exactly with their usual rate of advance. In the second, there appears to be no other district beyond the Araxes in this part of its course, and within the requisite distance of Trapezus, capable of maintaining a large city. Besides this, there are some proofs still remaining that there existed a great and civilized nation in this country in more ancient times. I need not inform the learned reader that the letter *s* is convertible with the aspirate *h*, and that they both often, in oriental words, are indifferently

dropped and indifferently used; consequently, Ispira, Hispira, and Saspeira, are different names for the same province, or perhaps town. Even as late as the age of Herodotus these Saspeires were a powerful and independent nation, and occupied the whole territory between Media and Colchis. This description is particularly applicable to the locality of the Iberians and Ispirians. Whether these Iberians were civilized by the Egyptian colony on the Phasis, or were themselves a branch of the Great Chaldæan nation, cannot now be determined. There are reasons adducible in favour of both opinions. The account recorded by Strabo is interesting: "Iberia, especially, is for the greater part handsomely furnished with cities and buildings. The roofs are covered with tiles, and the structure of their habitations is architectural. They possess also market-places and other public buildings. There are four tribes (or castes) in the country. From the first and chief they appoint their kings, according to the nearness of blood, and the rights of primogeniture. The nearest in blood to the king is the chief judge and commander of the army. The priests form the second race. These, in addition to their peculiar duties, take cognisance of all disputes with neighbouring nations. The third race are the soldiers and husbandmen. The fourth, the common people, who are royal slaves, and perform all menial services. Their settlements are in common according to kinship. The eldest rules, and is the treasurer of each settlement."*

* Lib. xi. cap. 3.

With my present information I must come to the conclusion, that the Gymnias of Xenophon belonged to the Iberians. Ispira itself was famed for its gold mines, of which a stronger proof cannot be given than the fact mentioned by Strabo: "There are gold mines in Hispiratis, near Cambala. Alexander sent Menon with a body of soldiers to seize these; but he was destroyed by the natives.'' It must also be added, that, in describing Jason's imaginary progress from Colchis, he commences with Syspiratis, and ends with Adiabenè. Of the modern Ispira I have nothing to say, more than the casual mention of it by Mr Kinneir: "Ispira is said to be the richest and hottest district in this part of Armenia, and produces the most delicious fruit. The city itself is inconsiderable, and only derives consequence from the wealth and number of its dependent villages."† I have in vain looked for the name among the Byzantine writers; and the occurrence of it in modern times proves how tenacious mountainous and isolated districts are of old and indigenous appellations.

Knowing as little as I do of the country, it would be absurd to attempt to fix the site of the mountain whence the Greeks first saw the sea; but it would of course be to the west of that considerable river which bounded the Scythini and Macrones, and which could hardly be any other than the river of Byaboot on the map. Nothing can be more erroneous than to suppose that Thechè was the Cap Dag of Mr Kinneir,

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* Lib. xi. cap. 14. † P. 354.

nearly a hundred miles from the Euxine, and separated from it by high hills. Even Mr Kinneir's own account of the view from this hill precludes the possibility of such a prospect, as even on report he states that the first point on the road from Erzeroum, where the Euxine is visible, was in the neighbourhood of Gemish-Khana, about half-way between the imaginary Thechè and the sea. But the heap of stones will assist much, in connexion with the view, in identifying this spot in after times, especially as the emperor Adrian, in one of his numerous peregrinations, left still more lasting marks of the truly classical height; and as I have not in any modern writer seen any notice of the attention of this great traveller to the place, I make no scruple of translating here the commencement of Arrian's Periplus of the Euxine Sea.

"TO THE EMPEROR CÆSAR TRAJAN ADRIAN AUGUSTUS, ARRIAN WISHES PROSPERITY.

"I arrived at Trapezus, a Greek city, (as the illustrious Xenophon says,) situated on the seashore, a colony of the Sinopeans; and with delight viewed the Euxine Sea from the same spot whence Xenophon and you viewed it. The altars are already erected, but of coarse stone, and consequently the letters are not engraved very distinctly. The Greek inscription also, as being written by barbarians, has been incorrectly cut. I have therefore determined to rebuild the altars of white marble, and to engrave the in-

scriptions in fair characters. Your statue also, although the position is good, for it is pointing to the sea, is in its execution neither like you, nor otherwise well-made. Send therefore a statue worthy to be called yours, and in the very same attitude, for the spot is best adapted for an eternal monument."

From this it is evident that Adrian, who, in the words of his biographer Ælius Spartianus, was "so fond of travelling that he wished in person to examine every thing read by him regarding noted places in the world," had visited the hill, whence (at least, as he thought,) the Greeks had the first view of the sea. Nor is it at all improbable that Trapezuntine tradition, together with the cairn of stones, had formed a safe vehicle for conveying the knowledge of the place down to the reign of Adrian. If, after reading the above quotation, any reader be inclined to suppose, with the commentators, that Trapezus, and not the hill, was the place thus to be commemorated, I can only tell him at once that he is wrong. Argument would be thrown away upon such a subject.

THE MACRONES.

The Greeks were famous for the meaning names which they used to bestow on foreign nations. Scylax of Caryanda called this nation, in his Periplus, Macrocephali, and even perhaps before him, (for of this I am not sure,) Herodotus had recorded them as converts to the rite of circumcision, under the name

given to them by Xenophon. Yet, with these authorities, I have my doubts whether the nation would have recognized it as their proper appellation, since Strabo expressly tells us that they had been formerly called Sammi. In later times, under the more Caucasian name of Tsami, they are often mentioned by the Byzantine writers as one of the most powerful tribes of Upper Armenia. Through the territories of this tribe the army marched in peace for three days. They had then to force their way through a Colchian army that occupied the ridge of a hill, and in two more marches arrived on the seashore. It was among the last tribe that they found the honey infected with poison. It did not prove so fatal to them as to three cohorts of Pompey's army: "The Heptacometæ, a tribe on Mount Scydises, (Scythini probably,) cut to pieces three of Pompey's cohorts that were traversing the mountains. They prepared and left in the soldiers' way bowls of wine mixed with the delirium-causing honey, which is produced in the trunks of trees; and attacking the men when overpowered by drinking this, easily destroyed them."*

COLCHI.

Xenophon takes no notice of the peculiar appearance of black complexion and woolly hair attributed to this nation by Herodotus, an eye-witness, and

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* Strabo, lib. xii. cap. 3.

above all suspicion. Yet I think that these traces were faint, even in the times of Herodotus, as they seem to have quite vanished in the age of Strabo, who was well acquainted with the country; for he passes over these distinct marks, even when alluding to their supposed Egyptian origin: "Their linen-manufacture has been very celebrated, for they used to export it to foreign parts; and some writers, wishing to prove the relationship of the Colchians and Egyptians, draw their arguments from this circumstance." From this it may be inferred, that their linen-manufacture had declined in Strabo's time, most probably as the Caucasian barbarians encroached upon them. Arrian,* who visited the Phasis, saw nothing confirmatory of former wealth and civilization. The inhabitants of the town wished to impose a new iron anchor upon him as the anchor of the Argo. This he would not believe, but was rather inclined to suspect that some fragments of stone might have been it. About three centuries after Arrian's visit the Lazi, Lesgæ, or Legæ, who in Strabo's age occupied the eastern side of Caucasus, descended into the vale of the Phasis, and at once extinguished the Colchian name and nation; so that Agathias supposed these mountain savages to have been the same people as the original Colchians. I may add, that the extraordinary quality of their honey was quite sufficient to account for the poetical fables of the poisonous and magical herbs of Colchis.†

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* Periplus. † Lib. ii. cap. 19.

TRAPEZUS.

From Trapezus the Greeks arrived in three days at Cerasus, a colony of the Sinopeans, and in ten days more at Cotyora. As this route, in Mr Kinneir's opinion, allows him to take every possible liberty with Xenophon's narrative, it must be examined minutely. Mr Kinneir's charge is as follows:—"Xenophon's book was written after his return to Greece, and, as I before observed, most probably from memory."

"There is a mountain near Gemishkhana, which answers the description of Theches, inasmuch as the Black Sea is visible from it in a clear day."

"After remaining thirty days at Trebisond they embarked all their sick, together with the old men, women, and children, and the rest marching by land arrived in three days at Cerasunt, a Greek city in the country of the Colchians, near the sea, and a colony of the Sinopeans."

"From Trebisond direct by sea it is about ninety miles, and surely the road-distance must be greater through so rugged a country; so that the army must have marched upwards of thirty miles a-day, although the roads, according to Xenophon's own account, were regarded as impassable.—Can this be credited?"

"They then marched through the country of the Mosynœcians, the Chalybians, and Tibarenians, and in eight (ten) days reached Cotyora, a Greek city and a colony of the Sinopeans. This city seems to have stood somewhere near Ordu, where Mr Chavasse and myself passed the night; so that the Greeks must

have traversed the same country as we did between that place and Cerasunt. But they probably advanced more into the interior, as they made war on a tribe of the Mosynœcians; and we find that they took no less than eight (ten) days to march from Cerasunt to Cotyora, and certainly through a more accessible country than that between Trebisond and Cerasunt; the passage of which only occupied them three days. This of itself shows the irregularity of their marches, and that it is impossible to form a calculation upon them." This charge is fairly made, with two exceptions; the first is, that Mr Kinneir does not state that in the army that marched from Trapezus to Cerasus there were not only no invalids, women, and children, but also not a man above forty years of age, and that these selected men had no encumbrance; the second is the omission of the fact, that a road had been purposely made for the Greeks between Trapezus and Cerasus. It is not therefore wonderful that their average rate of advance was far greater between Trapezus and Cerasus than it had been during the march. In passing from Cerasus to Cotyora, on the contrary, they amused themselves with besieging and capturing the chief town of the Mosynœci, and every other pregnable place in the country. I have no objection for the present to regard Ordu as the representative of Cotyora, and to take the distance between it and Trebisond at a hundred and twenty-four miles, as estimated by Mr Kinneir. These, divided by the thirteen days, give nearly ten miles for their average rate of advance, which, considering the obstructions experienced by them in

passing through the territory of the Mosynœci, is as great as can be estimated. If, however, the Cerasus of Xenophon were the modern Cerasunt, Mr Kinneir would have established a strong charge against Xenophon on account of the unequal division of this route. But I believe that I shall have no difficulty in proving the contrary, although Mr Kinneir was very pardonable for assuming as a truth what no geographer hitherto has pretended to dispute. And here I can assure the reader, that, previous to the examination of the original authorities, I should have been much inclined to doubt the sanity of the person who did not instantly recognize the Xenophonteian Cerasus in the modern Cerasoon.

CERASUS.

As the ancient authorities are numerous, I shall place the most striking of them in order before the reader, beginning with Scylax of Caryanda :* "Among the Macrocephali, Trapezus, a Greek city. Next to the Macrocephali, the Mosynæci nation, and the harbour Zephyrius, Chœrades, a Greek city, the island of Mars. The Mosynæci occupy the mountains. Next to them are the Tibareni. Next the Tibareni, the Chalybes nation, Genesintes, a harbour with a chain at the entrance, Ameria, a Greek city, and Amineia, a Greek citadel. Next to the Chalybes are the

* Periplus, p. 33.

Assyrians and the river Thermodon and Themiscyra, a Greek city; the river Lycastus, and a Greek city; the river Halys, and Carysa, a Greek city; Sinopè, a Greek city; Cerasus, a Geek city; Armenè, a Greek city and harbour."

Next in time to Scylax comes Xenophon, who finds Cerasus three days' march to the west of Trapezus. From a comparison of the two accounts, it is evident, that Cerasus was founded in the interval between the time of Scylax and Xenophon, and that the name was given to it from a town dependent on Sinopè, and situated between it and its western harbour, Armenè. And when the reader consults the map, and sees the extraordinary promontory on which the original Cerasus was placed, he must allow that there is the strongest possibility that it was so called from κέρας, a horn." The next account is given by Strabo, to whose testimony in regard to every part of this country the greatest weight must be given:* "As you sail along this coast (the Pharnacian and Trapezuntine) from Amisus, first occurs the Heracleian promontory. Then Jasonium, another promontory; then Genetes; then Cytorus, a small town from which Pharnaceia was founded; then Ischopolis, in ruins; then a gulf, on which are Cerasus and Hermonassa, inconsiderable stations; then Trapezus, not far from Hermonassa, then Colchis.

The next author is Pliny:—"Eighty miles from

* Lib. xii. c. 3.

Amisus, the town Pharnaceia, Tripolis, a castle and river; then Philocalia and Sirropolis, without a river; and, at the distance of a hundred miles from Pharnaceia, Trapezus, a free town shut in by a large mountain."* [He had before said, the nation of the Macrocephali, Town Cerasus, Harbour Condylè.] Next comes Arrian's Periplus, which is much more minute:

	STADIA.
"The Jasonian Promontory, thence to the island of the Cilicians, -	15
Thence to Boona; at Boona there is anchoring ground for ships, -	75
Thence to Cotyora; Xenophon described this as a city, it is now only a petty village, - -	90
Thence to the river Melanthius,	60
Thence to the Pharmatenus, another river, - -	150
Thence to Pharnaceia, which was of old called Cerasus, a Sinopean colony,	120
Thence to the island Arrhentius,	30
Thence to Zephyrium, where there is a harbour, - -	120
Thence to Tripolis, -	90
Thence to Argyria, -	20
Thence to Philocalea, -	90
Thence to Coralla, -	100
Thence to the Sacred Mountain,	150

* Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 4.

	STADIA.
Thence to Condylè, an anchoring station for ships, -	40
Thence to Hermonassa, also a station for anchoring, -	45
Thence to Trapezus, -	60

I would willingly add Ptolemy's description of the line of coast, were it not utterly dislocated and confused, beyond the power of remedying. I shall, therefore, for the present confine myself to these authorities. From the testimony of Strabo, two facts respecting which there can be no doubt are ascertainable; the first, that Cotyora, or, (as written more correctly by Strabo) Cytorum, was exhausted of its inhabitants, for the purpose of supplying Pharnaceia with inhabitants; the second, that, in the time of Strabo, the Cerasus of Xenophon had fallen into decay, and was situated on the same gulf as Hermonassa, which latter was not far from Trapezus. From Arrian's testimony it may safely be inferred, that Cotyora, which was a small city in Strabo's day, had degenerated into a petty village at the period of Arrian's visit; and that Cerasus had altogether ceased to exist. From Pliny's testimony we find, that, in the interval between his time and Strabo's age, a Tripolis had arisen between Pharnaceia and Trapezus. If, therefore, it be asked, what had become of Cerasus in Arrian's time, the known practice according to which every city called Tripolis was formed, by throwing three neighbouring cities into one, enables us to answer,—it was one of the cities condemned to form this Pontic Tripolis. Arrian, however, was not to be disappointed; and as

Trapezus and Pharnaceia were the only cities of great note on the coast, he determined that the latter must have been the Cerasus of Xenophon. He did this in direct opposition to the best evidence not only of the non-identity, but of the remoteness of the two cities from each other. The consequence may easily be imagined, when we call to mind the enthusiasm already shown by Adrian on the subject, and that Arrian was a professed admirer of Xenophon; that, in imitation of him, he called the Life of Alexander his Anabasis; and that he was flattered by his friend with the appellation of the younger Xenophon, the name of Cerasus would be restored by imperial edict to the place consecrated by the presence and record of the Attic Bee, and the barbarian designation of Pharnaceia be spurned as a pollution. Thus, by a strange result, the Cytorite colonists of Pharnaceia became the Cerasuntines of the following ages. Pharnaceia entirely disappears. In Ammianus we read again of Cerasus; and, in the Synecdemus of Hierocles, Cerasus and Trapezus are inserted as the two episcopal cities of that part of Pontus. It is curious also to observe, that this blunder of his greatest admirers should have subjected Xenophon to the most serious charge of misrepresentation, or culpable carelessness, to the extent of even destroying all the value of his calculations. I do not absolutely say that Adrian changed the name of Pharnaceia into Cerasus. It would be quite sufficient for Arrian, with his station and great literary name, to announce to the inhabitants of Pharnaceia, that their city was the noted Cerasus of the Anabasis. They would be glad to renounce the ob-

noxious name of the grandfather of Mithridates, and adopt one more agreeable to their proconsul, and the "Græculus,"—the emperor. The distances indicated by Pliny and Arrian demonstrate the identity of Pharnaceia and the modern Cerasoon.

Should, in happier times, any European traveller have an opportunity of examining the neighbouring hills in search of the remains of the Greek cairn, or of the altars and statue of Adrian, I would not have him be certain of finding the remains of both on the same height; for antiquarians capable of confounding Cerasus with Pharnaceia, might easily suit themselves with a Thechè, among the numerous hills, whence, at the back of Trapezus, a distant view of the sea may be commanded.

From Cotyora the Greeks sailed to Sinopè, and thence to Heracleia. Forster, an able man and a scholar, impugns the correctness of the general narrative of Xenophon, from his account of this voyage. The charge is as follows:—"At Cotyora they took shipping and sailed to Harmenè, a port near Sinopè, and from thence to Heracleia. In this second trip, Xenophon informs us that they saw the mouths of several rivers; first, that of the Thermodon, then of the Halys, and after this that of the Parthenius, whereas it is most certain that the Thermodon and Halys are a great way on the other side of Sinopè; and consequently Xenophon must have seen the mouths of them in the former run, that is from Cotyora to Harmenè. This will render what I hinted at above very probable, viz. that our author kept no regular journal of this expedition; for, if he had, where could he

have more leisure to write than on board, where he could have nothing else to do, there being pilots to steer the course, and sailors to manage the ships." But the charge is easily refuted. Xenophon sums up at the end of their voyage all the principal objects seen by them during the whole course of it. His words are, "And, as we sailed along, we saw the Jasonian Promontory, where the Argo is said to have moored, and the mouths of the rivers; first of the Thermodon, after that of the Halys, after that of the Parthenius, and having sailed by this arrived at Heracleia." Cotyora was close to the Jasonian Promontory, and no possible mistake of Xenophon could remove it beyond Sinopè. But, if any one doubt this, let him read the speech of Hecatonymus, in the fifth book, where a most accurate knowledge of the whole coast is shown. After describing the country generally, he adds: "And you will arrive, first, at the Thermodon, three hundred feet wide; secondly, at the Iris of the same breadth; thirdly, at the Halys, not less than two stadia broad, over which you cannot cross without ships. In the same manner also the Parthenius is unfordable." The whole coast of the Euxine was well known to the Greeks long before the time of Xenophon, and he would have laughed at the supposition, that he intended to crowd all these objects between Sinopè and Heracleia, a mistake which, had he committed it, would have exposed him to the ridicule of the merchant-sailors in every port of the Ægean.

Hitherto all geographers who have attempted to trace the retreat of the Ten Thousand, have been com-

pelled to take it for granted that their historian was guilty of great misrepresentations, especially with regard to what I may term the unknown parts of the route. In support of this they alleged three gross mistakes, said to be committed by him on more known ground: the first with respect to the distance between Thapsacus and the Araxes; the second, as stated by Mr Kinneir; and the third, as stated by Mr Forster. As I have restored the mistakes to their actual owners, I venture to reverse their argument, and, from the accuracy of the journal in the parts that are known, to infer its accuracy in the unknown regions.

The rest of the route is not disputed, and is accurately given in all maps, with one exception; Xenophon did not cross the Sangarius, he sailed by the mouth of it.

THE END.

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